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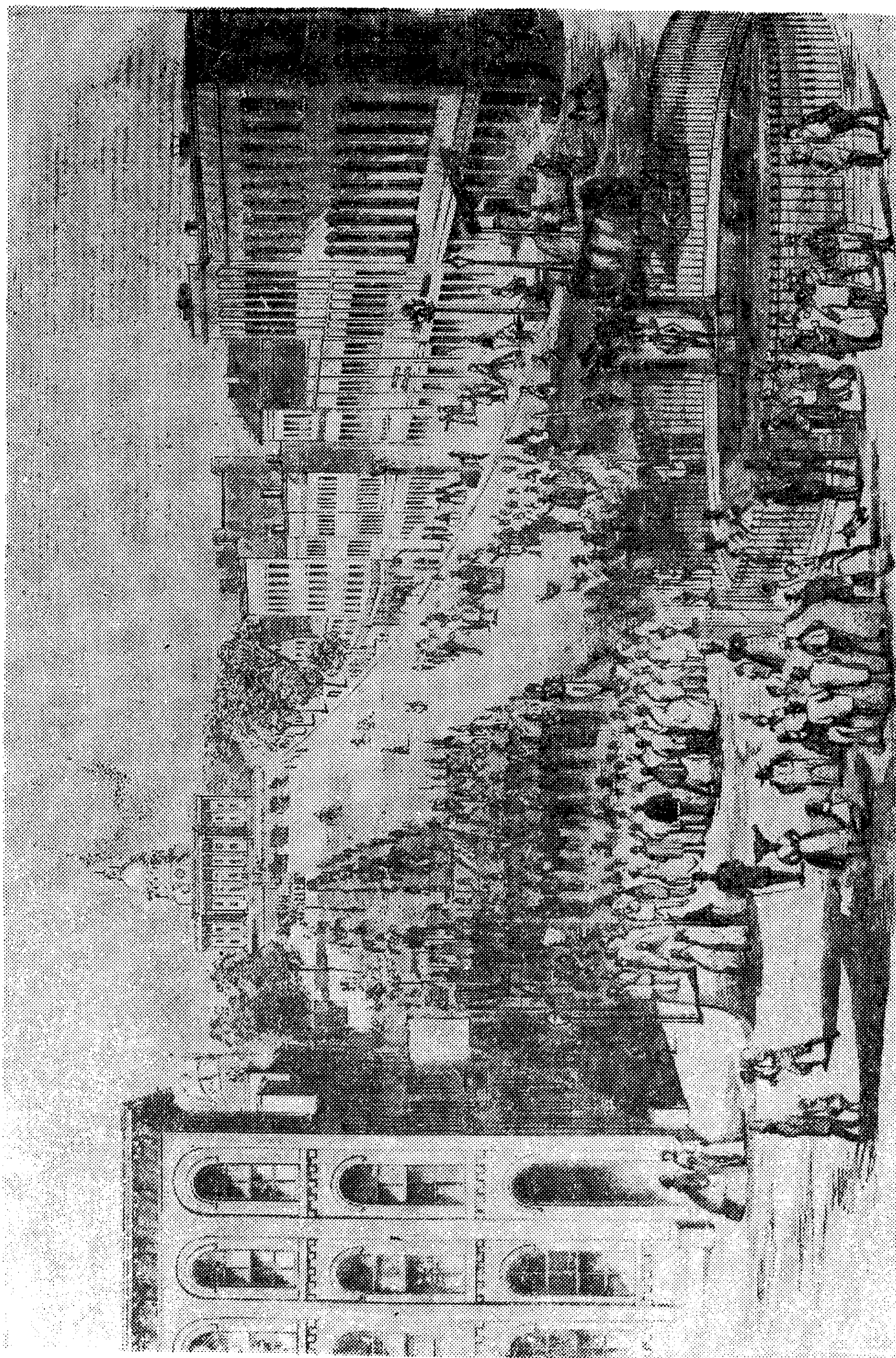
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THE CITY OF MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, SHOWING THE STATE HOUSE WHERE THE CONGRESS OF THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY MET ON FEBRUARY 4, 1862

MONTGOMERY AS THE CONFEDERATE CAPITAL:
VIEW OF A NEW NATION

Edited With An Introductory Chapter By
James P. Jones and William Warren Rogers

EDITORIAL

This issue of the *Alabama Historical Quarterly* is devoted entirely to a compilation of reports printed in the *Charleston Courier* written from Montgomery during the four months it was the Confederate capital. It is intended as a complement to the other sources which give at least passing note to life in a town which briefly enjoyed the role of a nation's capital. Dr. Jones and Dr. Rogers, both members of the history faculty of Florida State University, have made sufficient reference to those sources in their footnotes and bibliography to obviate the necessity of mentioning them further. It is sufficient to say that the viewpoint of representatives of the press of another Southern city is somewhat different from that of other observers of the scene, and is therefore deemed worthy of an entire issue of the *Quarterly*.—P.A.B.

PREFACE

As the first capital of the Confederate States of America, Montgomery, Alabama, was the scene of crucial military and political decisions in the winter and spring of 1861. The small city found itself in an unaccustomed whirl of activity. On hand to record the events of the day was a small army of newspapermen. This study contains several accounts of life in the capital as seen by a four-man press corps representing the *Charleston Daily Courier*. Their writings have all the verve and enthusiasm of the new nation about which they wrote. The editors intend the work for the scholar and the general reader and hope that the spontaneous, close-range accounts of the *Courier's* journalists will hold the interest of both.

The editors are grateful to Mr. Peter A. Brannon, Director of the State Department of Archives and History of Alabama, for his interest in the project. Mr. Milo B. Howard of the Department of Archives and History supplied useful information concerning Alabama personalities. Mrs. Granville T. Prior, of the South Carolina Historical Society kindly aided with material pertaining to South Carolina. Thomas R. Waring, Editor of the *Charleston News and Courier*, permitted the use of the *Courier* files in which the accounts originally appeared. Professor J. Cutler Andrews of Chatham College offered helpful suggestions. Also, Professor Weymouth T. Jordan of Florida State University gave encouragement and advice during the time the manuscript was being prepared.

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CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Early in the mild winter of 1861 Thomas C. DeLeon resigned his position as clerk in the bureau of topographical engineers and went South. His destination was Montgomery, Alabama, and he wrote, "The city is picturesque in perch upon bold, high bluffs, which, on the city side, cut sheer down to the Alabama river . . . From the opposite bank spread great flat stretches of marsh and meadow land, while on the other side, behind the town, the formation swells and undulates with gentle rise. As in most southern inland towns, its one great artery, [Market Street], runs from the river bluffs to the Capitol, perched on a high hill a full mile away."¹ DeLeon was but one of many persons drawn to the small southern town because of its sudden rise to prominence as the provisional capital of the Confederate States of America.

After the 1860 election returns revealed that Lincoln would be the next president, the South prepared for action. Montgomery was chosen as the meeting place for a southern convention. Here, it was hoped, a plan of union might be perfected. The selection of Montgomery was not illogical. William Lowndes Yancey promoted southern nationalism in Alabama as effectively as had Robert Barnwell Rhett in South Carolina. The meeting at Montgomery would guarantee South Carolina support in carrying out secession. Furthermore, the city was in a centrally located lower South cotton state.² South Carolina seceded on December 20, 1860, and by February 1, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas had also withdrawn from the Union. The date set for the southern convention was February 4, 1861, exactly one month before Lincoln's inauguration.

¹ T[homas] C. DeLeon, **Four Years in Rebel Capitals: An Inside View Of Life In The Southern Confederacy, From Birth To Death** (Mobile, 1890), 23.

² For the selection of the site see Armand J. Gerson, "The Inception of the Montgomery Convention," **Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1910**, 181-187; Laura A. White, **Robert Barnwell Rhett: Father of Secession** (New York, 1931), 191-192; John Witherspoon DuBose, **The Life And Times of William Lowndes Yancey**, II (New York, 1942), 581; Burton J. Hendrick, **Statesmen of the Lost Cause: Jefferson Davis And His Cabinet** (New York, 1939), 87-90.

Soon delegates and curiosity seekers began converging on Montgomery. They found a town forty years removed from the frontier, rough and crude yet incongruously sophisticated. Situated at a large bend in the Alabama River, some 331 steamboat miles above Mobile and 839 overland miles from Washington, Montgomery had been an early location for Indian villages and a landing site for eighteenth century traders. Its real growth began after the War of 1812 with the creation of the Alabama Territory in 1817 and the rush to take up the rich lands of this new cotton kingdom.

The town was founded by Georgians and real estate speculators from the North. The land that ultimately became the site of Montgomery was purchased at the federal land sales held at Milledgeville, Georgia, in August 1817. Among the principal buyers were the Georgians General John B. Scott and Dr. Charles Williamson, who were members of the "Alabama Company," and Andrew Dexter, a native of Massachusetts. Within a week Scott and his company were advertising the sale of lots in the "Town of Alabama." Dexter arrived shortly to inspect his purchase before the land was laid off. With the financial assistance of two other easterners, John Falconer and James G. Klinck, Dexter laid off lots a mile east of the prospective "Town of Alabama" and named the new village "Philadelphia." The two settlements became rivals, although Dexter's town was located on higher ground and attracted more immigrants.³

In 1818 a new Alabama Company was formed and founded "East Alabama," another town adjacent to Philadelphia. The rivalry continued for another year, but a movement for unification was successful and both towns were incorporated under the name "Montgomery" on December 3, 1819.⁴ After this Mont-

³ Clanton W. Williams has done important research in the early history of Montgomery. Of special interest are his "Early Ante-Bellum Montgomery: A Black-Belt Constituency," *Journal of Southern History*, VII (November, 1941), 495-525; "Extracts From The Records Of The City Of Montgomery, Alabama, 1820-1821," *The Alabama Review*, I (April, 1948), 79-90; and "Conservatism in Old Montgomery, 1817-1861," *The Alabama Review*, X (April, 1957), 96-110.

⁴ Through the years there has been a controversy concerning the origin of Montgomery's name. There is general agreement that the town was named for Brig. Gen. Richard Montgomery of Revolutionary War fame, while the county was named for Major Lemeul Purnell Montgomery, who was killed at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in 1814. Conflicting arguments are presented in *Montgomery Advertiser*, December 13, 16, 1875.

gomery advanced to a position of economic, cultural, and political dominance over the "Black Belt." This region extended across the central part of the state and became famous for its dark, rich soil and heavy concentration of Negroes. For the most part the city and surrounding Montgomery County were populated by economically stable groups. Many settlers were of sufficient affluence to bring their slaves with them and, as a student of the period has shown, ". . . the city never passed through a period of raucous lawlessness such as characterized some pioneer towns of other American frontiers."⁵

By 1846 the Black Belt with the aid of South Alabama was powerful enough to cause the removal of the capital from Tuscaloosa to Montgomery. The struggle, which had been long and bitter, was a sectional victory for the city. Montgomery businessmen built a capitol with privately raised funds, and the public records were moved there in 1847.⁶ The second session of the legislature was abruptly interrupted in December 1849, when the capitol caught fire and was completely destroyed. Proposals to remove the seat of government were overcome, and by 1852 a new state house was in use on Capitol Hill.⁷

Thus, in early 1861 all roads, rough and unpaved as they were, and all railroads, unfinished lines and different gauges to the contrary, led to Montgomery. The most comfortable route was to proceed to Mobile and then take a steamboat up the river to Montgomery. The capital city, normally populated by

⁵ Williams, "Conservatism in Old Montgomery," 100. But see also Warren I. Smith, "Land Patterns in Ante-Bellum Montgomery County, Alabama," *The Alabama Review*, VIII (July, 1955), 196-208.

⁶ Malcolm Cook McMillan, "The Selection of Montgomery as Alabama's Capital," *The Alabama Review*, I (April, 1948), 79-90.

⁷ In 1898 a brochure by James B. Simpson entitled "The Alabama State Capitol An Historical Sketch" was published. Simpson was a longtime resident of Montgomery and knew a great amount of local history. His brochure is republished in *The Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XVIII (Spring, 1956), 81-125. This issue of the journal is devoted entirely to Montgomery history.

Supposedly Andrew Dexter believed from the first that Montgomery would eventually become the state capital and refused to sell the location on which the capitol was constructed. The hill was called "Goat Hill" because it served as a congregating place for that type of animal. When the Marquis de Lafayette visited the city in 1825 an unsuccessful attempt was made to rename the spot "Lafayette Hill." Not until after 1846 did the location achieve the dignified title "Capitol Hill." See Grove Hill *Clarke County Democrat*, May 30, 1877, quoting *Montgomery Advertiser*.

8,843 people, had only three hotels: the Exchange which was equipped for three hundred guests, Montgomery Hall, and Madison House, each constructed to house 150 persons. The crowded situation was partially relieved by private boarding houses scattered throughout the city. Hotel rooms were at a premium and frequently six persons were crowded into a room with accommodations for three. The inability of the town to supply its increased population with adequate living and eating facilities was a source of constant complaint and no small factor in deliberations to remove the capital.

Montgomery was by no means devoid of attractions. Mobile was the largest city in the state, but Montgomery ranked second and had a number of well stocked stores. The population was literate enough to support four newspapers, wicked enough to patronize the theatre (a local thespian society presented "Julius Caesar" as early as 1822 and a theatre opened in 1830), and religious enough to attend any one of a number of churches. All Montgomerians did not consider their new position an unmixed blessing. Mary Boykin Chesnut, whose husband James Chesnut, Jr., was a delegate from South Carolina, conversed with a Montgomery lady who feared the worldly dissipation of Washington and believed Montgomery might become similarly tainted.⁸ DeLeon noted that some Montgomerians "could not get rid of their ideas that odum had come to be imposed on them."⁹

Yet, for the most part, the citizens were pleased to have the capital. What was essentially a provincial society was suddenly transformed into a center of international attention. It was only natural for the citizens to regard the future potential of their city as unlimited. Later Mrs. Chesnut recalled "how exciting it all was there" with "clever men and women congregated from every part of the South."¹⁰

A considerable part of Montgomery's new population was made up of newspapermen. Correspondents were present from southern journals as well as the major northern and European papers. They ranged in prominence from William Howard Rus-

⁸ Mary Boykin Chesnut, *A Diary From Dixie* (Edited by Ben Ames Williams) (New York, 1949) 13.

⁹ DeLeon, *Four Years in Rebel Capitals*, 40.

¹⁰ Chesnut, *Diary From Dixie*, 78.

sell of the London *Times* to unknown reporters for weekly journals. Regardless of prestige, these reporters sent their home papers lengthy accounts of the new government's activities. Their reports were frequently inaccurate, although the secret sessions of the convention prompted speculation. Many of these reporters possessed considerable political and philosophical insight and nearly all were imaginative writers.

No newspaper was better represented at Montgomery than the Charleston *Daily Courier*. The newspaper had been founded in 1803 and for years had been one of the leading southern journals. Keeping the Charlestonians informed on affairs at Montgomery became the task of four reporters who signed themselves "Sigma," "Quod," "Sprite," and "Palmetto." This book contains forty-one of their articles. On February 4, the *Courier* announced that it had made arrangements "to receive . . . full reports of the proceedings of the Southern Congress, to be opened this day in Montgomery, Ala.,"¹¹ but further than this, did not identify the writers. On February 13 a Montgomery newspaper mentioned the presence in the city of two *Courier* reporters, N. E. Foard and Henry Sparnick.¹² Sparnick had been an undergraduate at the College of Charleston, and later had been a special correspondent for the *Courier* at Columbia, the state capital. Sparnick followed the Confederate government from Montgomery to Richmond and reported the news from there.¹³ To date, the editors have been unable to identify the real names of the other writers.¹⁴

With a story as important as the birth of a nation, and the attendant elections of a president and vice president, adoption of a constitution, and final resort to war, even the dullest reporter could write interesting accounts. The *Courier's* writers

¹¹Charleston **Daily Courier**, February 4, 1861. For a history of the newspaper see Herbert Ravenal Sass, **Outspoken: 150 Years of The News and Courier** (Columbia, South Carolina, 1953).

¹²Montgomery **Weekly Advertiser**, February 13, 1861.

¹³William L. King, **The Newspaper Press of Charleston, S. C.** (Charleston, 1872), 142.

¹⁴It seems probable that Sparnick was "Sigma." The other journalists, however, remain unknown. Mrs. Granville T. Prior of the South Carolina Historical Society to James P. Jones, January 12, 1961, stated that a search of the Society's files failed to reveal any information on Sparnick or Foard. Thomas R. Waring to William W. Rogers, January 6, 1961, remarked that the present-day Charleston **News and Courier** has no record of the correspondents.

were far from dull. Each was a cultured man whose polished writings had genuine literary merit. Each adopted a sweeping style liberally sprinkled with classical allusions. Nor were they above the frequent use of puns, and their flowing Victorian prose was apparently as effortless as it was interesting. As reporters they reflect much of what was typically southern: extreme patriotism, unwarranted confidence, warmth, impatience, optimism, and a sense of history. They reported the mundane and the significant. They wrote of social affairs, local problems, political issues, military events, both current and impending, and of personalities. What they knew to be true, they reported. As a last resort, they were hardly above recording what they thought to be true. Their guesses, however, were educated ones and frequently proved correct. As South Carolinians they did not slight their home state and frequently the reports were slanted toward their Charleston readers.

Of the included articles, "Sigma" wrote twenty-four, "Sprite" ten, "Palmetto" four, and "Quod" three. None of the writers reported the inauguration of President Davis, and in order to give the narrative continuity, this event, as described by the *Montgomery Advertiser*, is included. All of the reports are unchanged, although the editors have taken the liberty of deleting repetitious material and a few matters so local in nature as to be of limited interest. From their vantage point in the eye of the storm, these four southern writers watched the first important months of their nation's existence.

CHAPTER II

A NEW NATION IS BORN

Immediately after the convention assembled on February 4, the delegates commenced the business of state-making. Despite various inconveniences, the people, old citizens and new arrivals, refused to be completely serious and Montgomery assumed a festive air. The necessity of finding new places to live, the problems of adjustment to a new city, and the renewals of old Washington friendships with the subsequent whirl of social life were matters of importance. Of primary significance, however, was the establishment of a government. The climax to the first phase of the new nation's activities was the presidential inauguration of Jefferson Davis on February 18. "Sigma" arrived at Montgomery early and began dispatching reports to the *Courier*.

Montgomery, February 2, 1861

Although we left Chattanooga on a day propitious to *improper fractions*, through rail road courtesies we were agreeably disappointed in reaching this place in full possession of bodily faculties, for once escaping the mysterious prognostications which append to the name of Friday. Thanks to kind fortune, we were conducted away under the auspices of the genial, popular and gentlemanly JAMES W. MEREDITH, whose name is associated with all the pleasant recollections of the South Carolina Rail Road. At the termination of his route he exhibited to us his far-famed jackass train, the locomotive facilities of which are in competition with the other institution over which he so well presides. From him we parted with regret, which was only mitigated by the kind attentions and facilities afforded us by his successors, Messrs JOHN F. CREWS, Wm. Q. FULLER, and Geo. W. PYLES of the Georgia Rail Road. The system of travel by the latter road is superior in many respects to the revered style of our own roads, particularly with regard to the time of passage. Perhaps we adhere to the cautious system because the security of life and limb is in proportion to the number of miles traveled per hour.¹

¹ Apparently "Sigma" was at Chattanooga when ordered to Montgomery. His circuitous railroad journey, humorously described, became a major military problem later when fast transportation became necessary. See Robert C. Black, *The Railroads of the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill, 1952), *passim*.

The monotony of our thirty hours' journey was at times relieved by halting at the various palatial hotels along the road, where one is informed, by enormous post bills, that all the glittering and seductive viands which might tempt the most epicurean *bon vivants*, could there be obtained by the exhibition of that peculiarly American institution—the half dollar. Into the inmost recesses of these temples of happiness one rushes at a given signal, and makes desperate and futile efforts to comfort his internals by the falsely represented forage. There one exercises a vigorous imagination to believe the difference between the innocent pullet and the diseased, though still pugilistic, twelve-year-old cock. There one, after devouring the socalled tender fowl, has to retire with mouth closed in order to prevent his fellow passengers from being disturbed by the crow of the half-digested rooster. There one perceives inland oysters which, like the sensitive plant, wither at being touched; cheese which recalls the memory of certain towns taken by storm with Dutch cheeses, biscuits so useful as teeth-sharpeners, and coffee which, indeed, is a Mocha-ry. But, if abstinence be a virtue, then were we, by necessity, examples of it uncorrupted. But 'virtue has its own reward,' and if our present host realizes but little in our entertainment, he must charge the difference to the wayside hotels.

Montgomery has a perfect Columbian appearance, bedewed with those moist sprinklings, so favorable to asthma, in the latter town [Columbia, South Carolina], and known as legislative rains. The streets are, through a wise provision of municipal legislation, devoid of crossings, they being dispensed with as superfluous luxuries. The sidewalks by a similar provision, are constructed in a fantastic and irregular manner, so that one navigating thereon must either be regardless of life or must either be constantly on the *qui vive* lest at any time he be precipitated from some huge hill to a bottomless abyss. In fact, there must be a wide field for so much of the practice of law as relates to the suit for damages. The streets were apparently laid out before the surveyor[']s compass was in use and in traversing them I feel the necessity for *Appleton's Guide*, being momentarily in danger of missing my landmarks and fetch-

ing up in Georgia or Mississippi.² The general effect of sandy roads and daily rains is palpably evident upon the structure of the hackney coach cattle. The animals when in motion are constrained by tightened reins, and when stopped are tied to posts to keep . . . their dignity from lowering itself to the level of the dust.

The private residences are generally exceedingly beautiful, the majority being constructed in the style of the Italian villa, surrounded by expensive and carefully kept gardens. In this respect private taste and skill seems to have surpassed the public enterprise. Of the manners of the citizens, it is unnecessary for me to speak. I find the same attachments and attentions which are cordially lavished upon a visitor in any Southern city, and once in Montgomery, one feels immediately at home.³

The Capitol being the place of the meeting of the first Southern Congress, is deserving of notice. It is located on an eminence immediately in front of a main street, and commanding a surview of the whole city. It is built of brick some-

² The reference here was to the widely popular **Appleton's Companion Hand-Book of Travel: Containing A Full Description of the Principal Cities, Towns, and Places of Interest, Together With Hotels and Routes of Travel Through the United States and the Canadas** (New York, 1860). Montgomery's irregular streets prompted a Georgia correspondent from the *Augusta Republic* to write, "an itinerant may easily lose his reckonings in rambling over it." The *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, February 27, 1861, did not hesitate to reprint this criticism. It was not long before correspondents had nicknamed Montgomery as the "City of Dogs and Dust." See article by "Secession" writing in *Savannah Republican*, May 11, 1861.

³ Despite certain drawbacks, many visitors were charmed by the city. Jefferson Davis later wrote his wife, "This is a gay and handsome town . . . and will not be an unpleasant residence." See Varina Howell Davis, **Jefferson Davis Ex-President of The Confederate States of America A Memoir By His Wife**, II (New York, 1890), 4. Mrs. Louis Trezevant Wigfall, wife of Louis T. Wigfall of the Texas delegation, recorded, "There are a great many gardens, and as beautiful flowers as I ever saw anywhere. See Mrs. D. Giraud Wright, **A Southern Girl in '61 The War-Time Memories of a Confederate Senator's Daughter** (New York, 1905), 49. William Howard Russell wrote in the *London Times*, May 30, 1861, "...the city looks like a vast aggregate meeting of small country parsonages. The houses are of wood painted white, or of red brick, many only one story in height. The churches are numerous, small, and rather eccentric in the character of architecture." In his **My Diary North and South** (London, 1863), 242, Russell admired the residential areas that were "well-wooded, undulating, villas abounding public gardens, and [with] a large negro and mulatto suburb." The *New York Herald*, February 11, 1861, commented on the town's "numerous elegant stores and private residences."

what after the architectural order of your new Custom House, the exterior presenting the appearance of polished marble, and favors so much the design of the artist as to lend credit to the innocent deception. The main building is flanked by two enormous wings, which are used for legislative chambers, and the whole is surmounted by a graceful rotunda, at the front base of which stands the Town Clock. The right wing on the second floor, generally employed as the Senate Chamber of the Legislature, is being renovated and furnished for accommodation of Congress. In form it is octagonal and is peculiarly designed for its present purposes. Its construction affords the greatest facilities to persons situate[d] in its body for being heard by the chair, which commands the central point opposite the only entrance from the lobby.⁴

SIGMA

Montgomery, February 4, 1861

Today, destined to be the most memorable in the annals of the Gulf States, formerly constituting integral portions of the General Government, lately known as the United States of America, but now deceased, was ushered in under fair and brilliant omens. The glorious sun, whose appearance had been unmanifest for weeks past, now shines forth from silvery parting clouds with undimmed lustre, and the combination of sunshine and a clear, cold bracing air, has rendered exceedingly cheerful the otherwise unpleasant streets. From early morn could be seen gathering together at the public squares and along the most frequented highways, anxious knots of citizens, eagerly converging upon the great Convention which was to decide the destinies of the Southern States. As the hour of noon approached, the high hill upon which stands the Capitol, the compeer of Independence Hall, might have been seen blackened with the dense streams of human life. Vehicle after vehicle, loaded with animate cargos, deposited their burdens at the same location and lent their numberless inmates to the unnumbered throng. The aged patriot, whose silvery hairs dated

⁴The colorful pro-southern Philadelphian, John Beauchamp Jones, called the capitol "a fine structure with massive columns, on a beautiful elevation..." See his account as most recently edited by Earl Schenck Miers, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary* (New York, 1958), 15.

back to the inception of the first Revolution, and whose tottering footsteps were guided by the hands of filial affection, the inspired mother, whose bosom, inhaling the breath of patriotism, was ready to sacrifice her first born upon her country's altar, the fair girl, whose smile and encouragement were directed to spur on her fond allied to deeds of valor and honor, and the rosy cheeked child, whose first lesson had been learned under the portrait of Washington, these were all there, and . . . one could mark upon their outlines the expression of resolute determination and unsullied patriotism. As we enter the right wing, let us note the appearance of the Chamber and the distribution of its contents.

Immediately opposite the only entrance rises, in majestic grandeur, the dignified rostrum of the Speaker, and over which hangs in simple elegance an original painting of the great prototype of American liberty. Around and on each side of the almost circular apartment, are arranged at given intervals, the portraits of Jackson, Yancey, Clay, Calhoun, Lewis and the historian Pinckney, and beyond these the legendary inscriptions and reminiscences of the Palmetto Regiment, Marion's Dinner and a variety of other prints, calculated to entice memory back to the days of '76 and the modern chivalry of South Carolina.⁵ Clustering around the desk are groups of agile reporters, and on the main body of the floor are going about the ex-Washingtonian lion office-seekers, seeking whom they may devour.⁶ Desk after desk is being occupied by the different members of

⁵ The House Chamber was decorated for the Congress with pictures borrowed from residents. The Montgomery **Weekly Advertiser**, February 6, 1861, remarked that the entrance of the Hall had, on the extreme left, a list of the men in South Carolina's Palmetto Regiment. The regiment had served in the Mexican War. Next there was a picture of George Washington delivering his inaugural address. There were two other pictures of Washington, one a Gilbert Stuart original, hung immediately over the President's desk. Other portraits were of Senator Dixon H. Lewis, a prominent Alabama politician; John C. Calhoun; William L. Yancey; Andrew Jackson; Henry Clay; General Francis Marion, of South Carolina; and Albert J. Pickett, an Alabama writer, whom "Sigma" erroneously identified as the "historian Pinckney."

⁶ The motives of those desiring offices or commissions were undoubtedly mixed and varied. The patriotic motivation was forwarded by President Davis' wife who argued "Very few battled for rank; they were there for service." See Davis, **Memoir By His Wife**, II, 37. Another point of view was that of DeLeon, **Four Years in Rebel Capitals**, 24, who wrote "Montgomery was Washington over again; only on a smaller scale, and with the avidity and agility in pursuit of the spoils somewhat enhanced by the freshness of scent."

the delegations, and many a cordial smile and fraternal grasp are interchanged amongst those who have left the Babylon of American politics to seek the far-famed Canaan of Southern desire. It yet wants an hour of the time of meeting, and the capacious gallery is being densely filled with the fair ladies of Alabama, whose sparkling eyes and gracious smiles are sufficient incentives to the great work of revolutionizing a defunct Administration.

But as the minutes slowly drag their weary lengths away, a disposition is manifest to commence the great work, and soon after meridian appears in the rostrum a delegate of striking and prepossessing appearance who suggests the name of Hon. R. W. Barnwell,⁷ of South Carolina, as temporary Chairman. This individual is the celebrated Judge [William P.] Chilton of Alabama.⁸ This first business movement as a premise to its successors was characterized by unanimity, and as the venerable Barnwell appeared every heart leapt with a new impulse. His first action was to open the meeting with prayer. This was accomplished by the Rev. Basil M. Manly, a former 'Father in Israel' of your city.⁹ The scene was truly solemn and deeply impressive. The aged minister raised his clear, though feeble voice, to the Almighty in fervent appeal for the peace and prosperity of our land, and invoking the blessings of God upon the arduous labors of those, who, under His Providence, had assembled together to throw off the galling yoke of tyranny, and to establish once more the ground work of liberty and independence. As he proceeded, his aged tongue seemed to

⁷ Robert W. Barnwell later strongly supported Jefferson Davis for President. He was offered but declined the post of Secretary of State. See Rembert W. Patrick, **Jefferson Davis And His Cabinet** (Baton Rouge, 1944), 29, 37, 50; and Hendrick, **Statesmen of the Lost Cause**, 192.

⁸ Chilton was born in Kentucky in 1810 but came to Alabama in 1834. He served on the Alabama Supreme Court from 1847 to 1856. In 1860 he became a partner of Yancey in Montgomery and represented Montgomery in the Provisional Congress. See Willis Brewer, **Alabama: Her History, Resources, War Record, and Public Men** (Montgomery, 1872), 477; and Thomas McAdory Owen, **History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography**, III (Chicago, 1921), 324.

⁹ The Reverend Manly had served as pastor of the First Baptist Church in Charleston in 1826. In 1837 he became President of the University of Alabama. In 1855 he returned to Charleston, this time serving the Wentworth Baptist Church. In 1859 he retired, returned to Alabama, and served as pastor of the First Baptist Church of Montgomery from 1860 to 1863. See W. Stanley Hoole (Editor), "The Diary of Dr. Basil Manly, 1858-1867," **The Alabama Review**, IV (April, 1951), 127-128, 142-148.

strengthen, and his heart to beat fuller and fuller with inspiration from above, and as his lips murmured the final 'Amen,' it was but the substance of the convulsive echo of every bosom.

The examination of credentials having been completed, the Convention proceeded to the election of permanent officers, and firstly the Chair announced the time for the nomination of President.

At this juncture, the Hon. Mr. Robert Barnwell Rhett¹⁰ arose, and in a few chaste and feeling remarks rendered the name of the Hon. Howell Cobb,¹¹ of Georgia, as President, and suggested the propriety of election by acclamation. Upon the mention of the name, it was greeted with great applause, and Mr. Rhett's suggestion having been acted upon, Mr. Cobb assumed the dignities of his position, the enthusiasm prevalent amongst the assembled multitude was irresistible, and one unanimous cry of approval greeted the noble Georgian, who dared to set aside the Federal Satan, to lay his sacrifice offering on the generous bosom of his mother Georgia. His address was characteristic of his past political and private life—firm, decisive and resolute. He impressed the Convention with the necessity of appreciating the grave objects which their assembling together had in view, and the mighty results it was pregnant with.

At the conclusion of Mr. Cobb's inaugural, the Convention proceeded to the nomination and election of a Secretary, when Mr. Johnson J. Hooper,¹² one of the present editors of the

¹⁰Robert Barnwell Rhett, 1800-1876, called by some the "Father of Secession," was a prominent South Carolinian. Rhett had served in the state legislature and as a Senator from South Carolina. As a politician and as the editor of the Charleston *Mercury* he was a leading "fire eater" who advocated immediate secession. See White, **Robert Barnwell Rhett**, *passim*.

¹¹Howell Cobb, 1815-1868, a former Whig Congressman, Governor of Georgia, and Secretary of the Treasury, was a leading Southern compromiser. Until 1860 he opposed secession, but with Lincoln's election he gradually abandoned his moderate views. Cobb served as chairman of the Montgomery Convention and from 1861 to 1865 held a command in the Confederate army. For his role at Montgomery see Wilfred Buck Yearn, **The Confederate Congress** (Athens, Georgia, 1960), 8-9, 30-32.

¹²Hooper was best known as the author of the frontier stories of the colorful Simon Suggs. A recent biography is W. Stanley Hoole, **Alias Simon Suggs: The Life and Times of Johnson Jones Hooper** (University, Alabama, 1952).

Montgomery *Mail*, was, by acclamation, unanimously elected.

By motion, the President was authorized to detail a Special Committee of five¹³ to draft suitable rules for the government of the body.

From the recommendations embraced in the resolutions accompanying the credentials of Delegates from the various States represented, there exists no doubt that the Constitution of the late United States will be adopted as a basis for Provisional Government. To this no objection can be offered. The instrument so dear to the people and so venerated, will engender renewed confidence when in the proper hands for interpretation. It is but reasonable to expect that, as a precautionary measure for the protection and interests of this Government, some appendix may be imposed, rendering future connection with non-slaveholders, in a political point of view, impracticable. It is surmised that a greater portion of the proceedings will be conducted in Secret Session, in order that whatever actions may be devised by the Confederacy, they may, at least, be fully matured ere reaching the ears of the public, and, perhaps, thereby defeating their best objects.

SIGMA

Montgomery, February 6, 1861

As I anticipated, the principal business of the Southern Congress has been and will be conducted under the stern veil of secrecy. This, now fashionable method of procedure is the cause of great lamentations among the 'agile reporters,' who, like birds of prey, are ever hovering around the congregations of the people. Upon the morn of the first meeting it was currently rumored that the enterprising *Herald*¹⁴ had sent here a detachment of six, with detailed arrangements for each day's report, to be accompanied by its foster parent for its safe conduction. This, I am happy to say, is without foundation,

¹³Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865, I (Washington, 1904), 16, lists the committee as consisting of Alexander Stephens of Georgia, Lawrence M. Keitt of South Carolina, Jabez L. M. Curry of Alabama, James T. Harrison of Mississippi, and John Perkins, Jr., of Louisiana.

¹⁴This reference is to James Gordon Bennett's New York *Herald*.

although I am impressed with the belief that the *Herald* obtains a larger circulation proportionately than any one of the local newspapers.

The Committee of Thirteen, to whom was entrusted the duty of drafting a plan for a Provisional Government, and whose efficient chairman is the Hon C. G. Memminger,¹⁵ former Chairman of the Ways and Means in the South Carolina House of Representatives, asked leave of Congress to continue the Committee throughout its entire session, and also to postpone any report of their proceedings for a day. The Hon. R. W. Barnwell is the representative colleague of Mr. Memminger upon the Committee. It is regarded as absolutely certain that the Committee's Report will be submitted tomorrow, and from the unanimity manifested in all the past actions of the Congress, and the confidence displayed in its officers, we may dare hope that ere another sun shall set, the new Confederacy, rising Phoenix-like from the mutilated remains of the old, shall add fresh lustre to the constellation of Republican Governments. There is no differences [*sic*] of opinion; one common sentiment pervades each bosom; all animated by like impulses, are reaching forward to the prize of their high calling.¹⁶

A fair index to the harmony that prevails in all their meetings, is that, in open session, not one vote has been taken by ballot. Even . . . the permanent officers have been chosen by acclamation, each member feeling that the candidate proposed must be a reliable person.

Speculation with reference to the Presidency of the new government already tampers with the names of Cobb, [Robert A.] Toombs¹⁷ and [Alexander H.] Stephens,¹⁸ and it's generally

¹⁵Christopher G. Memminger, 1803-1888, was a native of Germany who arrived in Charleston as a child. Entering politics, he opposed nullification in 1832, but as the sectional crisis intensified, Memminger moved toward secession. He was a member of the South Carolina secession convention and of the provisional congress at Montgomery. From 1861 to 1864 Memminger served as Confederate Secretary of the Treasury. See H. D. Capers, **Life and Times of C. G. Memminger** (Richmond, 1893).

¹⁶The provisional constitution was reported on February 7, presented to the convention on the 8th, and adopted near midnight that night. The committee that drafted the provisional constitution grew out of Memminger's motion and was composed of two members from each state. See **Journal of the Congress**, I, 21-22; a concise survey of the conven-

thought that the choice will devolve upon one of these gentlemen, in deference to the Empire State [Georgia]. The name of Jeff Davis is also spoken of in connection with the Presidential chair, and in view of the imminent danger of collision with the Federal forces of the late United States, now deceased, it is certain that no one better qualified for the responsible position, on account of concentrating the essence of Cabinet and field, could possibly be found.¹⁹

SIGMA

Montgomery, February 10, 1861

After two days of Executive Session, the Congress of the six seceding States²⁰ have thrown open the doors of the Temple of Mystery and Birthplace of Liberty, and have given to their constituents the long expected Provisional Government. Of this document, it would be almost presumption for me to speak critically. Composed and unanimously agreed upon by the master spirits of the South; based upon the foundation of the great Magna Charta of our liberties, and modified only for the per-

tion is Albert N. Fitts, "The Confederate Convention," and his subsequent "The Confederate Convention: The Constitutional Debate," *The Alabama Review*, II (April and July, 1949), 83-101, 189-210.

¹⁷Robert A. Toombs, 1810-1885, was a Georgian with immense political experience. He had served in both houses of Congress, first as a Whig and then as a Democrat. Toombs became a secessionist and supported his state's withdrawal from the union. As a delegate in Montgomery, Toombs hoped to be president, but had to be satisfied with the post of Secretary of State. The office, however, was not the proper niche for the restless Toombs, and he quickly resigned, accepting a commission as brigadier general. In 1863 he left the army and spent the remainder of the war engaged in Confederate politics. See Ulrich B. Phillips, *The Life of Robert Toombs* (New York, 1913).

¹⁸Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, 1812-1883, was a leading southern moderate. Even though associates such as Toombs and Cobb had embraced secession by 1860, Stephens continued to call for moderation and compromise. Nevertheless, when Georgia seceded, "Little Aleck" followed his state into the Confederacy. He was chosen Vice-President at Montgomery and served to the war's end. There are several biographies of Stephens but also of great value is his own *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States: Its Causes, Character, Conduct and Results Presented in a Series of Colloquies at Liberty Hall*, I and II (Philadelphia, 1868).

¹⁹This is an allusion to Davis' military experience. The soon-to-be Confederate President had graduated from West Point in 1828, fought in the Mexican War, and served as Secretary of War in the administration of Franklin Pierce.

²⁰The six states referred to were South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana. A seventh state, Texas, seceded on February 1, but its representatives had not yet arrived.

petual preservation of those rights which ill-conceived philanthropy and fanaticism had sought to eradicate, it cannot but fail to meet the earnest commendation of the people. How its reception and perusal may influence the popular sentiment of those who have gorged the Northern press with the idea that it was the intention of the seceders to re-open the objectionable Slave Trade, and have employed this as a collateral Union-saving nostrum, I may not imagine. But the express declaration of the instrument puts the matter beyond question, and not only prohibits the introduction of slaves from foreign places, but creates the power to suspend even a transfer from those who are assimilated to us by the institution of slavery, and from whom we have but lately been politically dissevered.

As a temporary arrangement for a proper conduction of the affairs of the nation, it is adequate to any contingency that may arise. The necessity for a long continuation of this provisional form will be obviated by a speedy inauguration of the permanent organization. A Committee of two²¹ from each of the States now represented, has been appointed for the purpose of maturing the plan, and under existing circumstances there can be no doubt that every exertion will be made to report at an early period.

Under the agreed Article the Congress made unanimous choice of Hon. Jefferson Davis, the Mississippian patriot and the former hero of the stars and stripes, as the first President of the Confederate States. In this my surmise has been correct. Endeared to the entire South by every recollection of purity, honor, patriotism and courage, he now represents in proper capacity the people from whom his life labors have been spent. His inauguration may be expected on Wednesday next.

Mr. Memminger presented in Congress to-day twin beautiful designs for emblems of the Confederacy — one of them emanating from the fair ladies of Carolina whose artistic skill and high appreciation for the beautiful is well known, and the other from the hands of our gallant Zouave, Lieutenant [Robert

²¹**Journal of the Congress**, I, 42. The constitution was presented to the convention on February 26. After it was debated, it was produced in final form on March 11.

C.] Gilchrist,²² the pet and pride of the ladies. They both embody the Southern Cross—the '*In hoc signo vinces.*'

The main difference between them is that contrary to nature, the gentleman has displayed more faith than the ladies and embellished the ensign with fifteen stars where they had seven.²³ May his faith admit of the usual definition, and prove 'the evidence of things not (yet) seen,' as is now 'the substance of things hoped for.'

Montgomery has been constituted the present seat of government. The Montgomeryites are extremely anxious that it should remain so, and upon hearing of a committee having been formed in Congress for the purpose of securing suitable holdings for public office, they called a citizens' meeting tonight, for the purpose of making patriotic tenders, and innocently precluding Calhoun's prophecy about the city of Atlanta.²⁴ I opine that no place can be better adapted for the permanent location of Congress than Montgomery, provided, nevertheless, that the City Council should take immediate steps toward paving the streets, or else furnishing them with draw-bridges or passenger steamboats.

The Vice President elect, Hon. A. H. Stephens, received a very complimentary serenade from an immensely enthusiastic procession, and responded as only Stephens can respond.²⁵ The old Union attachment has gone, and the stray child has received a second mother.

²²Robert C. Gilchrist was described in *ibid.*, 40, as "a gentleman of the city of Charleston." *Ibid.*, lists a committee composed of one member from each state appointed to select a flag. The *Montgomery Weekly Post*, February 13, 1861, quoted the *Charleston Daily Courier's* description of Gilchrist's flag as a banner both "poetic and beautiful."

²³Gilchrist's flag hopefully contained stars for each slave state, anticipating that all fifteen would secede. The seven stars in the other flag represented only the states already out of the union.

²⁴As the *Courier* correspondents bring out below, there was constant pressure to remove the capital. Atlanta was by no means the only city desiring the capital. Among others were Memphis; Richmond; Huntsville, Alabama; and Nashville.

²⁵Stephens resided at Mrs. Cleveland's Boarding House on Montgomery Street. The serenade was announced by a hurriedly printed batch of handbills. Despite the short notice, a large group assembled in front of the Montgomery Theatre and led by a brass band marched toward Stephens' lodgings. Aroused from his sleep, Stephens responded with a brief but well received speech. The band played the "Marseillais" and "Dixie," and the crowd surged off into the night to continue the serenade to other dignitaries at downtown hotels. See *Montgomery Advertiser*, February 13, 1861.

One hundred guns were fired in honor of the new Government, most of them being set off (excuse the unmilitary term) by a fair daughter of Alabama, who, I suspect, knows somebody in or about Pensacola! She was a noble example of female courage, and I am sustained by good authority when I assert that she would not likely . . . faint at the smell of a rose.

By the way, since we have thrown off our connection with Uncle Sam, and have become the Confederate States, we may call ourselves the children of Cousin Sally. I propose as a philosophical query, whether, in view of the family alliance indicated in the word 'Cousin,' we are to regard Uncle Sam as a foreign relation.

SIGMA

Montgomery, February 11, 1861

Last night it rained terrifically for several hours, and at a late period it seemed inevitable that a gloomy, murky day should visit the inauguration of the first Vice-President of the Confederate States of America. But, contrary to all expectation, his solar majesty displayed his full powers of illumination, in the face of a beautiful sky. An immense concourse of spectators thronged the galleries and the floor, a larger portion of them being the fair daughters of Alabama. The inaugural ceremony commenced at 1 o'clock, according to announcement, and the name of the Hon. ALEXANDER HAMILTON STEPHENS having been called, he rose to address the multitude.

The *personnel* of Mr. STEPHENS is very striking. He has the appearance of having undergone great bodily anguish, and his advanced age²⁶ and gray hairs contribute to give to his eye a restless, nervous movement. His size is medium, and figure remarkably slim. His forehead is much wrinkled, and his locks flow over the shoulders, which stoop very much. A habit of wearing the hat advanced to the left, gives to his whole contour an appearance at once remarkable and prepossessing.

Expectations rose on tip-toe as Mr. Stephens addressed the

²⁶Stephens was only forty-nine at the time. The appearance of "advanced age" was due, no doubt, to poor health.

chair, and expectations was much disappointed. His address was confined to a grateful return for his complimentary vote, and for the manner in which the desire of the Congress had been executed. He referred to the probable arrival of Mr. Davis on to-morrow, and preferred that he should address the people upon the state of the country. There was much applause at the conclusion of the address, and but one sentiment pervaded the bosom of the people, that the noble Georgian was destined to be such a functionary as his successors in office would not err in imitating.²⁷

Great enthusiasm prevails in the city, guns were fired in honor of the occasion, and I observed our own Palmetto flag flying from one of the leading mercantile houses.

To-day the two banner models to which I referred in my last were suspended above the President's desk, and several others have been forwarded to the Committee. They have as yet come to no conclusion about a selection, though I hazard the belief that the leading idea to be embodied in the flag will be the Southern Cross, formed by a constellation of such States as may, from time to time, confederate with us.²⁸

While I am flagging permit me to refer to a very pleasant incident, in which Johnson J. Hooper, Esq, of the *Montgomery Mail*, and present Clerk of Congress was [a] principal character. A few days since he was presented by a lady with a beautiful little banner, 'all for himself.' The note accompanying the cloth

²⁷Stephens' patriotic though non-committal speech was described by the *Tuscaloosa Observer*, February 20, 1867, as "singularly modest and ... reticent." See also *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, February 13, 1861; and Henry Cleveland, *Alexander H. Stephens, In Public and Private With Letters And Speeches, Before, During, And Since The War* (Philadelphia, 1866), 157-158.

²⁸After much deliberation the flag committee, chaired by Congressman William Porcher Miles of South Carolina, decided on March 4 that the first national flag would be the famous "stars and bars" ensign. The flag showed three stripes, two red and one white, and seven stars on a blue field in the upper left corner. A flag was quickly made and hoisted over the capitol by John Tyler's granddaughter. Before the war ended the national flag was altered twice. The second national flag was white except for the upper left which showed the red and blue southern cross of the thirteen-starred confederate battle flag. The third and last national flag simply added a vertical red stripe at the extreme right of the banner. See E. Merton Coulter, "The Flags of the Confederacy," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXXVII (September, 1953), 188-199.

contained expressions of admiration for his patriotic efforts in behalf of the Alabama secession movement. His reply made a *'tout ensemble,'* which is delightfully entertaining.

Hon. Jefferson Davis is positively expected tomorrow evening, and will consequently enter upon his official duties on Wednesday. The construction of his Cabinet is looked forward to with great expectations. The local newspapers are already nominating candidates for his consideration, and laying out programmes for him. There will be a great rush of decapitated Federal office-holders, some of whom are already here.

It is currently reported that Hon. C. G. Memminger will be called to the Secretary of Stateship in the Cabinet of the new President.²⁹ It is only necessary for me to mention this as a proof that the Cabinet will be selected from the leading men of each State.

Miss [Maggie] Mitchell's³⁰ engagement continues in Canning's Theatre this week, and she is to be succeeded by Barney Williams and lady.³¹

SIGMA

Montgomery, February 12, 1861

The attention of the Convention, while in open session this morning, was confined principally to the organization of Committees, and the transaction of such details as present a glowing appearance in the columns of a regular report of proceedings, but become remarkably prosy when confined to the limits of a letter. Were it not for the magnitude of news expected immediately upon the inauguration of the President elect, then would

²⁹Memminger became Secretary of the Treasury and Toombs the first Secretary of State.

³⁰Miss Maggie Mitchell was the most popular actress of the Montgomery Theatre, operated by M. W. Canning. She and her sister Mary appeared in a great variety of plays. Maggie was acclaimed by the local press which called her a "gifted and charming little actress, who turns the heads of all the young men, and those of about half the married ones, wherever she goes!" See *Montgomery Advertiser*, March 12, 15, 31, April 4, 1861; and *Montgomery Weekly Post*, February 6, 1861.

³¹Barney Williams was referred to as "the Irish comedian." He and his wife played throughout the South, coming to Montgomery in February after a poor run in New Orleans. *Montgomery Advertiser*, March 31, 1861; *Montgomery Weekly Post*, February 6, 1861.

OTHELLO's occupation be gone. Our removal from speedy mail communication, precludes the pleasure of gourmandizing even the king *Herald* until all its contents savor of 'last week,' and we are kept in a pitiable condition of ignorance, existing as dependents, and waiting like the immortal MICAWBER for 'something to turn up.'

The Convention, through the mediation of a Committee, are now consulting upon the propriety of sending a Commissioner to the Foreign Government of the United States, to demand a recognition of our independence. It becomes an interesting question whether the 'poor old man [Buchanan]' will speedily give a favorable reply to the organ aforesaid. His failure to comprehend the first rules of diplomatic intercourse, after a long experience in the Courts of Europe, induces me to think that the structure of his mental apparatus is of such a nature that refusing an acknowledgment of individual State Sovereignty, his objections will become six times stronger. If Texas joins us ere the departure of our Commissioner, I would suggest the propriety of sending him a telescope for fear of his mistaking the Seven Stars for the Pleiades, and thereupon giving way to his constitutional weakness he may consume himself with tears.

The Convention has adopted the precedent of each State, and provided for the continuance in office of all persons in the Revenue Department. This is one of the beneficial results of secession, and will serve to calm the apprehensions which were antecedent to the President's election. I know not whether 'Honest Abe' will be pleased with this arrangement; if not, we may expect a legion of vampire McIntyres on or about the fourth March, who will locate South of Mason and Dixon, and glut themselves with Federal blood.

In the construction of the Cabinet, I hear suggested the names of Charles M. Conrad,³² of Louisiana, as Secretary of the

³²Charles Magill Conrad, 1804-1878, was born in Virginia but moved to Louisiana and became a prominent lawyer and politician. He was elected to the United States Senate as a Whig, and later represented his party in the House of Representatives. During the administration of Millard Fillmore, Conrad served three years as Secretary of War. During the Civil War he represented Louisiana in the Confederate Congress. See **Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1949** (Washington, 1950), 1012.

Navy, G. W. Crawford,³³ of Georgia, as Secretary of War, and the Hon. R. Barnwell Rhett as Secretary of the Treasury.³⁴ The policy of the President elect will undoubtedly be to embrace in his Cabinet those who have been most prominent in the redemption movement, at the same time conciliating the opinions of those who were distinguished at the various elections as Co-operationists.³⁵

The Congress passed a resolution to-day in Secret Session, from which the obligation was afterwards removed, and which provides that all the Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, and other property within the hands of the seceded States and which are claimed to be the property of the late United States, shall be exclusively within the cognizance of the Congress of the Confederate States. This obviates the necessity of South Carolina ousting the Major without the legal assistance of a General Government to sustain her.³⁶ There is no doubt the Commissioner [Col I. H. Hayne] to whom is entrusted the mission to Washington to claim a recognition of our Sovereignty at the hands of Uncle Sam, will also be authorized to demand an immediate withdrawal of all garrisons from the territory of the Confederate States, and on a failure of such demand, *public balls* will be celebrated together, with general illuminations, bonfires, &c. . .

SIGMA

Montgomery, February 13, 1861

The adoption of a national flag, is now the engrossing topic of discussion with Congress at present. Very many designs, emanating from artistic individuals who are ambitious of becoming the authors of the national emblem, have already been presented, and others are now in process of execution. The design of some is to embody the stars and stripes, with such

³³George W. Crawford had been governor of Georgia and served as Permanent Chairman of Georgia's secession convention. See Horace Montgomery, **Cracker Parties** (Baton Rouge, 1950), 2, 247-249.

³⁴Stephen R. Mallory of Florida became Secretary of the Navy; Leroy P. Walker of Alabama, Secretary of War; and Memminger was made Secretary of the Treasury.

³⁵This was not entirely true, as the more ardent secessionists like Yancey and Rhett held only minor governmental positions, while major posts went to such moderates as Stephens and Mallory.

³⁶Major Robert Anderson commanding the garrison on Ft. Sumter.

modifications as may adapt it to present contingencies, but the idea is distasteful, not to say disagreeable. The fact that the stars and stripes never floated over the principal land engagements during the Revolution of '76, and the war with Mexico having been successfully conducted under the auspices of State flags, together with the additional fact that the flag has become associated with late recollections of tyranny and abuse, should render it deservedly unpopular with us. The great emblem once baptized in the blood of American chivalry and hallowed by the recollections of 1812, has now degenerated to such an extent as to make its constituent elements emblematic of disgrace—the stars have become the representatives of States, and the stripes are the marks of abused forbearance. I have noticed an exceedingly appropriate design in the hands of Judge [Alexander B.] MEEK, of Alabama, who will be well remembered in connection with the Southern wing of the Democratic Convention of last spring.³⁷ It consists of a series of links circularly arranged, each enclosing within itself a single star, and in the main centre stands King Cotton surrounded by his allies, the plants of Rice, Tobacco and Sugar. I am satisfied that the Committee will unconditionally reject any suggestion looking to a likeness of the old flag.

Proposals for contracting for the erection of an Arsenal as a focus for the deposition of arms and munitions of war, as also for a manufactory of arms, ordnance and other instruments of death, have already been received. There will be no action upon them at present. It will be the object of Congress to delay any final action upon such subjects until so many of the States may be present as design seceding, in order to distribute amongst them all contracts and enabling them all to obtain a representation in the disbursement of the public funds.

A reference has been made to the Committee on Naval Affairs, to enquire into the existing system of navigation laws, and to report upon the same such changes as may settle any difficulties arising in the commercial intercourse of our citizens and those of foreign nations, and to obviate the difficulties

³⁷Originally a supporter of Stephen A. Douglas, Alexander B. Meek was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Charleston in 1860. There he ably supported the extreme southern position of Yancey. See DuBose, *Life of Yancey*, II, 446-469.

arising upon the subject of Custom House clearances, and forthwith to define and settle the law therein. It becomes a delicate measure for action in their hands before the independence of the States, and the existence of a separate nationality has been acknowledged. It is the design of the Congress to act as speedily as possible, in order to give relief . . . but the new system will not be thoroughly digested until a permanent government has been established, when time for deliberation and the result of experience will enable them to establish a thorough system of Navigation laws.

Hon. Jeff Davis has not yet arrived. His inauguration will be attended with military display.

Two Companies of Alabama troops, the Auburn Guards and Independent Rifles, arrived here from Pensacola, having been relieved by the regulars. They report the United States steam ships *St. Louis*, *Brooklyn*, *Manhattan*, *Wyandotte*, and two others, names unknown,³⁸ as harbored at Pensacola. No hostile demonstration appears to be expected . . .

Quite an amusing incident occurred at the Theatre last evening. Miss Mitchell was performing the Wept of the Wish-ton-Wish, in one of the scenes of which it is necessary to introduce a young child. This was accordingly done, and said infantile production regaled the audience with a series of operatic screams, in consequence of which the curtain was dropped and the audience left in doubt as to whether it was the child or the actors who failed in their parts. To settle their minds upon this point and to apologize for the interruptions, one of the Indians, clothed with all the toggery of the savage, but who was evidently a very modest novice of the stage, came in front of the green drop and innocently delivered himself of the following speech:

*'Ladies and Gentlemen:—*We must ask your indulgence for a few moments, as the child we had in the last Act disturbed

³⁸These were the *Macedonian* and the *Sabine*. "Sigma" seems to be in error in reporting the presence of the *Manhattan*. See *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series 1, IV (Washington, 1894-1922), 79-80; and Richard S. West, Jr., *Mr. Lincoln's Navy* (New York, 1957), 12.

the play, and we have to delay the second Act until we can get another child.'

It is needless for me to say that the effect was terrific.

SIGMA

Montgomery, February 15, 1861

There is very little business of interest introduced in open session of Congress, owing to the non-arrival of the President elect, and the consequent incompleteness of the Executive branch of Government. Mr. DAVIS has been heard from, and will arrive by rail road on Saturday noon. His inauguration will be publicly celebrated on Monday next at noon, with great military and civic display. The Governor of Alabama [A. B. Moore] has appointed a Committee of twenty-one among whom I find the names of Hon. W. L. YANCEY, Judge A. B. MEEK and Hon. JOHN A. ELMORE, to anticipate his arrival at West Point, [Georgia], and tender him a cordial welcome on behalf of the State of Alabama. In addition to these gentlemen, a Committee has been detailed from the Congress of the Confederate States.³⁹

It is understood that the Congress are [*sic*] conducting negotiations for the purchase of vessels—probably with a view to their armament as coasting vessels to defend the line of the Gulf from invasion and marauding. It is regarded as essential to the interests of the Government that its attention should be turned to the proper organization of an efficient Navy before making any other provisions for military defense. There is no doubt that immediate steps will be taken for raising a standing army, and for present purposes it is regarded as the best policy to enroll the volunteer forces of individual States under a common Army Regulation, and have them distributed as at present, the arrangements for executing the measure being merely an absorption of the volunteers under a General Bill, and the necessary changes being made in commissions.

Communications with regard to the furnishing of those

³⁹Moore's letter, dated February 14, making the appointments was printed in *Montgomery Advertiser*, February 20, 1861. *Journal of the Congress*, I, 54, lists the congressional committee.

gentle in military parlance called 'projectiles,' have already been received and referred; and in process of time, the Congress will be overwhelmed with petitions to examine and consider upon varieties of Armstrong, Minie, Maynard, Colt⁴⁰ and those fashionable 'et ceteras,' so much in vogue at present.

One of the Delegates from 'Lone Star' proper [John Gregg], arrived to-day, and presented his credentials, but the documents not being of the right metal, he was only requested to sit on the floor, without being allowed to participate in the discussions until his Ordinance goes into virtual effect. The same courtesy will be extended to the Commissioners from North Carolina, who are expected to attend the sessions.

Gen. Karl F. Henningsen,⁴¹ the Nicaraguan hero, is at present in the city, and purposes giving a corps of Artillery in the service of Alabama. Of course he is being extensively lionized.

A report circulates this afternoon that [William] Ward,⁴² the artist of Frank Leslie, has been detected sending on scurrilous caricatures of Congress, and has been turned over to the firm attentions of the Vigilance Committee. If true, he will probably be in a state of suspension before daylight, and will have *executed* his last drawing!

SIGMA

⁴⁰"Sigma" refers to several types of ordnance. The "Armstrong" was an English made field piece; the "Colt," was either a repeating rifle or a pistol; the "Maynard," was a breech-loading percussion carbine; and the "Minie," was probably the Springfield rifled musket which fired the minie bullet.

⁴¹Karl Friedrich Henningsen was a soldier of fortune. Of German descent but born in London, he fought in Spain and Russia. As a revolutionary in Hungary in 1849, he accompanied Louis Kossuth to America. Gaining fame as a leader in the 1859 filibustering expedition to Nicaragua, Henningsen became military adviser to Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia. A Colonel in the Confederate Army, he was usually called "General" by virtue of his previous exploits. He served with distinction in the Wise Legion. An account of his activities may be found in Ella Lonn, **Foreigners in the Confederacy** (Chapel Hill, 1940), 189, 451.

⁴²As the artist for **Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper**, William Ward gained fame for his drawings made on the scene of action. See J. Cutler Andrews, **The North Reports The Civil War** (Pittsburgh, 1955), 241.

Montgomery, February 16, 1861

The first patent right extended under the authority of the Provisional Government, was this day conferred upon Citizen [J.M.] WALDRON, of Georgia, for an improvement in switches (rail road). In consequence of the non-perfection of the Department, the expedient of filing away in a convenient officer certified designs of such improvements, was adopted, in order to secure the patent from any possibility of counterfeit or imitation.

The Congress had under consideration a Bill concerning citizenship and naturalization. The provisions are of course unknown as yet, but it is expected that it will consist of a declaration constituting all free white persons residing in any of the Confederate States at the time of the organization of the present Government, or such as may become citizens by birth, naturalization and the establishment of a permanent residence, as also those who are employed in active military or naval service for a limited period, citizens of the Confederate States of America. The general impression is that the probationary period of residence prior to taking the oath of citizenship will be extended so as to make the laws of naturalization more stringent in this respect than it is at present.⁴³

Numerous designs for flags were presented this morning, one of which, produced by Mr. Memminger, is deserving of special notice. He called it 'the flag.' It embraces the tri-color embodied in two stripes of red and white arranged perpendicularly to a parallelogram of blue, upon which was displayed the Southern Cross, formed by the combination of six stars, representing the seceders. The flag is of Charleston origin and meets with much favor. Cols. [J. J.] Lucas and [S. W.] Ferguson, Aids to his Excellency Gov [Francis] Pickens⁴⁴ arrived in this city yesterday, and took the boat for Mobile this afternoon. Their mission is of a private character, but it is surmised that they are bearers of private advices to Pensacola, and have pro-

⁴³The permanent constitution provided no detailed definition of citizenship. Article I Section 8 (4) empowered congress to "establish uniform laws of naturalization..."

⁴⁴Francis Pickens, 1805-1869, was elected governor of South Carolina in December 1860, and served for two years.

ceeded by this route to obviate the delay of staging by the regular route to the latter place. They acted as escort as the lady of Gov. Pickens, who remains in this city, and is attended by a host of admirers.

Our friend Ward, of Frank Leslie's staff, still exists. The reported Vigilance Committee, as I have since understood, consisted of some military gentlemen, lately returned from Oyster Town [Pensacola?], who cavorted upon a bender and originated the idea of a Republican being in the camp. They found themselves (or rather somebody else found them) slightly mistaken, and our Artist friend, instead of being their *ward*, has been unanimously adopted a citizen of our Free Republic.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, President-elect of the Southern Confederacy, arrived in this city at 1-o'clock this evening. A very large assemblage of citizens awaited his arrival at the Depot, which was completely surrounded by vehicles of every class and description. As the Iron Horse steamed up, the concourse, headed by a Special Committee, advanced to the extremity of the long platform, and greeted the appearance of His Excellency with cheers that thrilled the inner life with enthusiasm. His advance was preceded by his escort, the Columbus Guards, a thoroughly disciplined corps of Georgia Light Infantry, numbering some seventy rank and file. The Company, after executing a variety of very creditable manoeuvres formed in line to the front, unfurled the banner of Georgia, and took its position as body guard to the President—A salute of fifteen guns was fired by a detached file, and every demonstration of enthusiastic joy was manifested upon the occasion.

The President was welcomed by Judge [H. W.] Watson, on behalf of the citizens of Montgomery, in a happy address, to which he replied in feeling tones and with his accustomed oratorical skill and elegance. He greeted them as fellow citizens of the Confederate States of America, men identified by the dearest ties, interests, and honor. He spoke of the republican form of Government, embodied in the Constitution of the late United States as constructed upon the idea that 'Government rests on the consent of the governed,' and that this fundamental principle of our national polity had been clearly abandoned by those who

sought to reduce to a tyrannical despotism their equals and brothers. We had viewed the Constitution in the glorious halo of the light of Truth, as handed down to us by our forefathers, and that Constitution, with such alterations as may be necessary under existing circumstances for the protection of our own peculiar interests, we were prepared to defend to the last extremity with Southern blood and Southern steel. Our arms would still be open to clasp to our bosoms those who were desirous of making common cause with us, but they must come upon our own terms. We had too long already petitioned for compromise, in order to preserve those fraternal relations which once bound us together under one flag, but now we cast them behind us. The course of policy we once pursued, lies in the dead past, and our course of prosperity and happiness is living in the future. We have a plain duty to perform, a just cause to defend, and we will demand success. It may chance that the beginning of our actions may be overshadowed by the storms of adversity, but as this very morn, the clear sky of Heaven was threatened by dark clouds, until the Southern sun arose and drove before his lustrous power the gathering storm, until the expanse of Heaven reflected the majesty of light; so, in the end the sun of Southern glory shall dispel the clouds of distress, and leave nought but peace, happiness and prosperity.

At the conclusion of his address he was conducted to a handsome cabriolet drawn by four horses, and having an equipage expressly prepared for the occasion. A long line of carriages, filled with public officials, and a large procession of citizens accompanied the President to Headquarters [the Exchange Hotel], through streets brilliantly illuminated, and amid pyrotechnical displays of great variety.⁴⁵

⁴⁵When the carriage containing Davis, E. C. Bullock, and Yancey arrived at the Exchange Hotel, a large crowd gathered and began calling for the Mississippian. Finally, Davis and Yancey appeared at the hotel balcony where Bullock presented the President-elect to in the street below. Fatigued by travel, Davis spoke briefly but before retiring expressed deep appreciation for the good will accorded him. Yancey spoke after Davis and concluded his remarks with the memorable phrase, "the man and the hour have met." Accounts of his arrival may be found in *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, February 20, 1861; *Montgomery Daily Post*, February 18, 1861; *Montgomery Weekly Mail*, February 22, 1861; and Jefferson Davis, *The Rise And Fall of the Confederate Government*, I (New York, 1958), 231. For a useful recent summary see Hudson Strode, *Jefferson Davis American Patriot 1808-1861* (New York, 1955), 406.

The affair was conducted in a manner becoming the judgment of the gentlemen composing the Committee of Arrangements.

Preparations, upon an extensive scale, are being made for the public inauguration on Monday. The wildest enthusiasm exists amongst the townspeople.

SIGMA

Montgomery, February 19, 1861

The proceedings of yesterday will form an ever memorable epoch in the history of the Confederate States of America. On that day, Gen. Jefferson Davis, the first Chief Magistrate of these States, was invested with the robes of office, and in ascending to the highest position in the gift of his countrymen, indicated in his inaugural address . . . , the line of policy which he will pursue in the administration of the Government. Of the position taken by the President in his address it is not our purpose now to speak, further than to remark that they are such as to command the universal endorsement of our people, and must go far to command the respect [of] all right thinking men everywhere. If, after this, our enemies at the North shall persist in representing that the seceded States are not in earnest, they will fully entitle themselves to be recorded among those who having ears hear not and having eyes see not. Our present object is merely to furnish the reader with a hasty sketch of the ceremonies of the Inauguration—the crowd being so large and *impressive* on the great occasion, that our reporters were left too far in the background to present us a description of the scene.⁴⁶

Never did Montgomery present such an appearance as on yesterday. Although notice that the Inauguration would certainly take place on Monday, had gone forth through the press only the Saturday before, the streets, dwellings and Capitol

⁴⁶For convenient reference the inaugural address may be found in James D. Richardson (Editor), **A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy, II** (Nashville, 1906), 32-36. **Journal of the Confederate Congress**, I, 63, details the arrangements for the inauguration made by Congress. Other accounts of the inaugural ceremonies may be found in **Montgomery Daily Post**, February 18, 19, 1861.

hill were literally thronged with visitors who had come far and near from this and neighboring States to witness the imposing ceremony of the natal era of the Confederacy. All ages, sizes, sexes and conditions were out to give variety and space to the occasion. The ladies seemed to be present in larger numbers than the men in honor of their gallant President. The assemblage could not have numbered less than ten thousand persons, all animated by a common desire to maintain the dignity, honor and independence of the Confederate States. If the people of the North could only have witnessed the high resolve which animated every heart in Montgomery on yesterday, we would fain believe they would be struck with amazement and indignation at the monstrous delusion which has been practiced upon their credulity by Northern presses and politicians, who have told them that this flood-tide of secession is the movement of sectional aspirations, and not of the people . . . How long will it take the North to believe that our people are in advance of the politicians, and that if the latter appear to lead it is in obedience to the demands of the former? If they shall persist in their coercive measures, the argument of cold steel will soon satisfy them. We sometimes fear that nothing else will. But to the pageant of yesterday.

The procession formed on Montgomery street, where Gen. Davis took his seat in a magnificent carriage of Col. Tennant Lomax, drawn by six beautiful greys. On the same seat in the carriage sat Vice-President Stephens, and opposite them were Capt. George Jones [Davis' personal military escort], of Ala., and Rev. Basil Manly, of this city. Then followed successively in carriages, the Congressional, State, and City Committees. The citizens on foot and the military escort formed no inconsiderate portion of the procession. The military escort consisted of the 'Columbus Guards,' Lieut. [Roswell] Ellis; the 'Independent Rifles,' Capt. [Robert C.] Farris; the 'Eufaula Rifles,' Capt. [Alpheus] Baker; and the 'German fusiliers,' Capt. Scheussler, all under Capt. [Paul J.] Semmes, of the 'Columbus Guards,' commanding the Battallion.

As the procession moved up Market street, amid the roar

of cannon,⁴⁷ the inspiring strains of martial music, and the cheers of the multitude, the scene was grand beyond description. We must not neglect to mention that Col. H. P. Watson, of Montgomery, acted as Chief Marshal, by Congressional appointment . . . The Marshal and [his] assistants performed their duty well.

The vast crowd had soon filled the doors, windows and portico of the Capitol, and spread over the ground in front, when the inauguration ceremony began as arranged on the front steps. The President occupied a seat on the portico, with the Vice President seated at his right, and Hon. Howell Cobb on his left; Gov. Moore occupied a [place] on the platform immediately below; where were also seated the members of Congress, facing the President's stand. The ceremony was opened with an impressive prayer from the venerable Rev. Dr. Manly. The Hon. Howell Cobb, President of the Congress, administered the oath of office, and the President delivered his Inaugural Address, in a calm and forceable manner—the immense concourse now and then manifesting their approbation by vociferous applause, as he would strike the key-notes of Southern independence.

The ladies wreathed him with flowers, and ten thousand hearts beat high with joy, admiration and hope for the administration of the new President.⁴⁸ No man, not even Gen.

⁴⁷The ceremonies began at high noon when a salute was fired by the ordnance squad of the Columbus, Georgia, Guards. Captain Thomas E. Blanchard, a member of this unit, records that the Columbus Guards used a little brass cannon called "Red Jacket." See Etta Blanchard Worsley, *Columbus on the Chattahoochee* (Columbus, Georgia, 1951), 273-275.

⁴⁸In Katharine M. Jones, *Heroines of Dixie Confederate Women Tell Their Story of the War* (New York, 1955), 13, a lady remembered that freshly cut japonicas, hyacinths, and spring magnolias were tossed to the president. Of the ceremony Davis wrote his wife, "I thought it would have gratified you to have witnessed it, and have been a memory to our children." See Davis, *Memoir By His Wife*, II, 54. The occasion "was one of the most impressive scenes I ever witnessed," Howell Cobb confided to his wife. See Howell Cobb to His Wife, February 20, 1861, in Ulrich B. Phillips (Editor), "The Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, And Howell Cobb," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association For The Year 1911*, II (Washington, 1913), 544.

Washington, was ever called to preside over a people with more general acclamation and confidence than Gen. Davis. His past services and spotless private and public character, are the surest guarantees that he will not disappoint the just expectations of the country.⁴⁰

Unsigned article in the
Montgomery Advertiser

⁴⁰That night a levee was held at Estelle Hall and adjoining Concert Hall. There Davis received his admirers who stood in line for hours to shake his hand and wish him well. There was a spontaneous illumination of public buildings and many private residences. Rockets and bengal lights blazed across the sky. Everywhere the catchy strains of "Dixie," which had been played repeatedly at the inauguration and was destined to become inextricably identified with the Confederacy, could be heard. See *Montgomery Weekly Mail*, February 22, 1861; *Montgomery Daily Post*, February 19, 1861; the suspicious Georgian Thomas R. R. Cobb remained away but admitted, "Everybody and his wife was there, except me." See R. A. Brock (Editor), "[Thomas R. R. Cobb] Extracts From Letters To His Wife, February 3, 1861—December 10, 1862," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXVIII (Richmond, 1900), 283.

CHAPTER III

WEEKS OF CRISIS

The Montgomery government found itself in an incongruous position. It had, on the one hand, to establish itself as a peaceful member of the community of nations; and on the other, to arm rapidly in the event its newly declared status was challenged. President Davis and his administration clearly had a difficult task. Governmental theories contending that, rather than revolting, the South had merely exercised her constitutional rights, gave way to the press of action. The new nation had barely begun operations when Fort Sumter made northern and southern differences irreconcilable.

Montgomery, February 20, 1861

Before this letter reaches the columns of the *Courier*, its readers will have been informed of the gratifying intelligence that South Carolina was represented in the Cabinet through the person of Hon. C. G. Memminger.¹ It was generally understood amongst the lobby members of the Congress, that the election for one of the Departments would devolve either upon him or Hon. R. B. Rhett, and up to this morning opinion divided between the two. A choice has been made, however, and the friends of Mr. Rhett will be induced probably to seek for him a foreign mission, perhaps to the Federal Government.² Placing the political opinions of the two generations in an even balance, the capacity and experience of the former renders him well qualified for the position, and his record in this respect has been very influential with President Davis.

To the Hon. W. L. Yancey was tendered the selection of any post in the Cabinet he might desire, but upon the recommendation of his friends and political associates, he has declined them all with the understanding that he shall be first in the trio whom it is rumored are to demand a recognition of our independence from the European powers. The policy of maintaining a dignified reputation and preserving the political

¹ As Secretary of the Treasury, a position he held until 1864.

² Rhett was given no diplomatic post. He served in the Confederate Congress.

attachments of his party is the prime cause of his declining a Cabinet appointment, which would have caused dissatisfaction amongst a large majority of Alabamians. It is believed that his mental acquirements will be more in requisition in Europe, at the same time that his political preferences will remain inviolate. "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country."³

Of the appointment of Hon. Robert Toombs, it is unnecessary to say a word. His career at Washington, and the universal esteem and respect he commands in the entire South, are the best premises wheron [*sic*] to construct an opinion as to his course in the State Department.

The Secretary of War [Leroy Pope Walker] is in favorable repute with you from his connection with the last National Democratic Convention. He is an unflinching member of the States Rights party, and this complimentary recognition of his ability and consistency in political life is a sweet morsel to his numerous friends. He is a brother of Perry [*sic*] Walker, and also of Judge [Richard W.] Walker, of the Supreme Court of Alabama, and he occupies a prominent place at the Bar. I do not believe him to be a man after the model of the pro tem Secretary of the United States.⁴

As it is probable that each State will be represented in the Executive Departments, Louisiana may urge the claims of Hon. J. P. Benjamin as Attorney General,⁵ and Florida of Gov.

³Yancey declined the cabinet post of Attorney General. He later was appointed, along with Pierre Adolphe Rost and Ambrose D. Mann, an envoy to Europe. Davis may well have been relieved that Yancey felt foreign service more important than a lesser cabinet post. Unsuccessful in England, Yancey resigned his position. See Patrick, **Davis and His Cabinet**, 51, 78, 93, 157-158.

⁴Leroy Pope Walker was a leading secessionist and the first of Davis' War Secretaries. He resigned in late 1861 and served until 1862 as a Brigadier General. DuBose, **Life of Yancey**, II, 588, contends that after Yancey declined a cabinet post, he urged Davis to consider Walker for a position. Patrick, **Davis and His Cabinet**, 104-120, contains a succinct appraisal of Walker's tenure as Secretary of War. Walker's brother was Percy rather than Perry.

⁵Judah P. Benjamin did become the first Attorney-General. He was born in the West Indies, and later served as United States Senator from Louisiana. After he resigned from the Senate in February 1861, Benjamin became a leader in the Confederate government. Later he headed the departments of War and State. See Robert D. Meade, **Judah P. Benjamin, Confederate Statesman** (New York, 1943).

[Madison] Perry as Secretary of the Navy.⁶ The Department of Justice, it is expected, will be reserved for Texas.⁷

One of the Aid-de-Camps of Governor Pickens has just secured the services of a company from Atlanta, who are composed of real Georgia metal—each man in the corps being a first class mechanic, and competent to manufacture a lock or barrel for a gun. They tendered their services to the Confederate States, with a desire expressed that they should be permitted to select their own officers; but the proposition being disfavored, they have consented to enlist in the regular army of South Carolina on their own terms. This is, indeed, a valuable acquisition to your ranks. The company may be expected on Saturday night.

SIGMA

Montgomery, February 25, 1861

'The work goes bravely on.' The Department of the Treasury, under efficient management, is being put in a thorough state of organization. Offices are being filled, duties assigned to the 'subs,' and the official announcement is made that the Bureau is open and prepared for business. How the Treasury is to be supplied with the 'needful,' becomes the interesting question to us who are excluded the privilege of keeping time with the internal policy, if I may so call the secret transactions of Congress. It is understood that the Provisional Government will require twenty-five millions wherewith to support itself during the current year. The Federal embarrassments may make a serious addition to this amount, and the contingencies of war, embassies and negotiations, increase largely the figures. The design of imposing a uniform Tariff, and the light revenue to be derived from the navigation of the Mississippi, are not likely to supply the vacuum in the strong box. It becomes, therefore, a question with the Government whether a deficiency is to be supplied by loan or by taxation, and in either case how it may

⁶ Madison S. Perry was from Alachua County. As an early advocate of secession, he used his position as governor to help spearhead the movement to take Florida out of the Union. See William Watson Davis, **The Civil War And Reconstruction In Florida** (New York, 1913), 48.

⁷ The Department of Justice was headed by Benjamin of Louisiana, but Texas received the Post Office Department, with John Reagan as Post Master General.

be accomplished without impairing the mercantile interests of the States.

If in the course of events it becomes necessary for the Confederacy to resort to arms in order to produce a final settlement of our national difficulties, it is evident that no loan can be obtained, except from our own people, by the issue and circulation of Government bonds, for which the interest of each individual will be a security for his investment; and it is believed in financial circles that this will, in any case, be the most expeditious method of raising a Government fund. The effect of direct taxation, so odious to the people, and the equally objectionable result of a high tariff, from which we have just escaped, will be obviated, at the same time that an opportunity will be presented for a secure exhibition of that self-confidence and liberality which has characterized the leaders of our movement from its initiation . . .

The arrangements which are proposed for the speedy and effectual transmission of mails, are destined to glean a richer harvest than the burdensome method of Uncle Sam. The increase in rates of postage is made in order to produce a sufficient fund to defray the expenses of the Department, and compensate for the trouble of management. I confess that the sudden rise in stamps will be likely to cut off a good deal of communication, but it affords a good chance for speculation. I propose to write all my letters for the year before the law goes into operation.⁸

Congress is still down on the slave trade. The removal of felony, so disgraceful to the present statute law of the United States, will afford great inducements to adventurous Yankees for their underground charity, by importing the genuine Ethiops, without exposing their jugulars to unnecessary compression.

⁸ An extensive act to go into effect June 1 passed Congress on February 23. It upped the postal rates considerably, but the Department was efficiently run. See *Journal of the Confederate Congress*, I 79; August Dietz, *The Postal Service of the Confederate States of America* (Richmond, 1929), 21-27; John H. Reagan, *Memoirs With Special Reference To Secession And The Civil War* (New York and Washington, 1906), 106, 109-110.

Hon. J. P. Benjamin, the little Demonsthenes [*sic*], has received the appointment of Attorney-General and Henry T. Ellet that of Postmaster General.⁹ There is still a vacancy in the Cabinet, but my predictions have been so unfortunately wrong that I leave you to speculate about the Secretary of the Navy. Just let me guess that S. R. Mallory, of Florida, is the man.¹⁰

SIGMA

Montgomery, February 26, 1861

The Commissioned trio has at last been dispatched to Washington, under secret instructions, to obtain a recognition of our Independence from the Property Man [Lincoln], and the 'powers that be.'¹¹ It is generally expected that their mission will be productive of beneficial result as was that of Colonel [I. W.] HAYNE, terminating in an explicit refusal to conduct negotiations of any character.¹² If the old gentleman continues to 'see through a glass darkly,' it is possible that general illuminations will be ordered in the vicinity of Forts Sumter and Pickens. The handsome preparations that are being made in anticipation of this event, excite the special admiration of those of us who are confined to the interior, and in such case made

⁹ Henry T. Ellet was a Mississippi Congressman and friend of Jefferson Davis. Ellet was appointed and confirmed without his knowledge, and pleading private duties, declined the position. It was also declined by another Mississippian, Wirt Adams, and refused twice by Reagan before he finally accepted it. See **Patrick, Davis and His Cabinet**, 273-274; **Journal of the Confederate Congress**, I, 85.

¹⁰ Mallory, 1813-1873, did become Navy Secretary. He was born in Trinidad but was brought up in Florida. Before secession Mallory served in the United States Senate, resigning in 1861. He proved to be one of the abler cabinet members. A valuable recent biography is Joseph T. Durkin, **Stephen R. Mallory: Confederate Navy Chief** (Chapel Hill, 1954).

¹¹ The three commissioners appointed were Martin J. Crawford, Andre B. Roman, and John Forsyth. Crawford was a former Georgia Congressman, and Forsyth a well-known Alabamian who edited the **Mobile Register** and had served as Minister to Mexico. Roman was a former governor of Louisiana. For the activities of these men see Ludwell H. Johnson, "Fort Sumter and Confederate Diplomacy," **Journal of Southern History**, XXVI (November, 1960), 441-477.

¹² As Attorney-General of South Carolina, Hayne was sent to Washington by Governor Pickens in January. The colonel carried a letter demanding Buchanan's surrender of Fort Sumter. Hayne was never officially received, and when the President refused to surrender the fort, Hayne returned to Charleston.

and provided would be utterly dependent upon the kind attentions of the telegraph for information thereof.

There is no doubt that the programme of future events is under the notice of Congress now. The proclivities of every member upon the floor are for peace, and every honorable exertion will be made for obtaining an adjustment of our difficulties upon this charitable platform, but if the object is unattainable, then our friends of the opposite will refer to the inaugural of our President, if they desire to ascertain his line of policy. His information with regard to the condition of our defenses, will not be obtained by means of Committees, nor will rely exclusively upon official reports of the same, as he designs, we believe, a personal tour of inspection.

Every exertion is being made to complete the organization of the Departments upon economical plans. Only such clerkships are being filled as are essentially necessary for a prompt and expeditious transaction of business, and the vacancies will be supplied according to the contingencies of the case. The Government will not, however, be stamped with parsimonious impressions, although all prodigal expenses will be lopped off. The Treasury Department is under the disposition of [Phillip] Clayton, the former Chief Clerk in the Department at Washington, and consequently the flock of Georgians to his standard is enormous.¹³ The probability is that all who have resigned lucrative positions under the Federal Government will have the preference under the regenerated Republic.

The Navy is still without a head, though I cling to my prediction about Mallory. Commodores [Duncan N.] Ingraham, [Lawrence] Rousseau, and [Josiah] Tattnall are present in the city, and will be placed in command as soon as the Cabinet appointment is made.¹⁴

The press continues to be well represented, and each successive day enlivens the Capitol with the presence of some child

¹³For an account of Clayton's appointment see *Montgomery Confederation*, March 1, 1861.

¹⁴The appointments were forthcoming and Ingraham of South Carolina Rousseau of Louisiana, and Tattnall of Georgia all saw service with the Confederate fleet.

of fame. Among the *literati* I have met 'Beaulah,' 'Simon Suggs,' and 'Major Jones.'¹⁵ Of these, more anon.

SIGMA

Montgomery, February 28, 1861

It will be perceived by reading the official reports of Congress proceedings, that speculation with regard to the probable means of effecting a loan for the use of the Confederate States was not without foundation. The plan reported by the Bill and adopted by the House will commend itself to the intelligence of the people in every particular. It is not requisite to go beyond our own limits to find those who are desirous and eager to take up the bonds of a Confederacy whose financial future wears the bright prospect of affluence, nor will the operations of the Treasury be retarded or impeded by any pressure in the money market abroad to the extent which might be exerted by a foreign loan. The high rate of interest, which exceeds the average maximum rate of the different States, will be a sufficient inducement, and when coupled with the consideration that no apprehension of exhaustion or bankruptcy can prevail, will make the circulation and disposal of the bonds quite easy. The investment, as a government loan, possessing the advantage of being a common fund to which the property of each member of the government would produce additional strength, would entirely supersede that of ordinary loans or bank investments, and would consequently be more readily transferred, and by the amount of this a facility become more valuable.

The method devised of effecting an ample security for the loan is highly creditable to the judgement and forethought of Congress, and will be attended by beneficial results, not only to the Treasury, but to the cotton manufacturer. The export duty of one-eighth of one per cent upon the raw material will satisfy the bonds, together with accumulated interest for the period of fifteen years, and supporting the increase in export for the next fifteen years to be proportional to that of the last, it will be

¹⁵The three "literati" were Miss Augusta Evans, author of *Beulah*; Johnson J. Hooper, mentioned above as the creator of "Simon Suggs;" and Major William T. Thompson, editor of the *Savannah News* and author of *'Major Jones' Courtship*. Their presence is noted in *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, February 13, 1861; and *Selma [Alabama] Issue*, February 27, 1861.

seen in calculating that the security is complete. Add to this the probability of a rise in the market resulting from a monopoly, and assisted by discreet legislation, as well as an increase of demand, and it is palpable that the duty will leave a surplusage to defray the expense attendant upon collection of revenue. The duty, moreover, though apparently trivial, must have its influence as an encouragement to home consumption and manufactures, and by its operation may furnish a valuable suggestion for promoting home industry. On the whole, as an expedient for the prompt discharge of government obligations, the scheme is politic and well matured.

The provisions which have been made for the suspension of legal claims pending between the United States and our government, in case of war contingencies, may best be defined by the title 'peace-makers.' The opportunity that they afford for our late confederates to realize that we are in earnest, will actuate them in demanding pacific measures from Congress, rather than suffer any inconvenience or detriment to their mercantile or manufacturing interests, and this expression of the determination of the new government, although a mere enunciation of old international law, will have a salutary effect in teaching them the force of our resolution.

From a letter published in one of the city papers this morning, from Hon. W. L. Yancey, it is evident that he had received an appointment to a Foreign Mission, and is making arrangements for a speedy departure.¹⁶

The theatre continues to offer great attractions under the energetic and skillful management of the present lessee, Mr. [M. W.] Canning, whose reputation in the Southern theatrical world is well known to you. During the present week, the frequenters of the theatre have been gratified by the appearance and artistical performances of an amateur—Mrs. [Annie L.] Taylor, an Alabama lady whose cultivated taste and natural ability bid fair to give her a prominent position on the boards.¹⁷

SIGMA

¹⁶Yancey and the Commission did not depart from New Orleans for Europe until March 31; Yancey and Rost arrived at London April 29. See DuBose, *Life of Yancey*, II, 596, 604. But see also Frank L. Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy* (Chicago, 1931), 52-87.

Montgomery, March 4, 1861

Congress is still engaged in discussing and perfecting the Permanent Constitution, and the probability is that the whole week will be expended in its considerations. The strong disposition manifested to secure an abolishment of customs houses, and the provisions necessary to be made for the establishment of a Tariff system, are likely to give rise to much debate, and prolong, for a considerable period, the session of the 'Provisionals.' I opine that the report of the Committee does not embrace so much of the original, Simon-pure Constitution of the defunct United States as was generally anticipated, and the current belief that its adoption will be a matter of some delay, strengthens my opinion. That the small number of States at present represented, will require, from necessity, some serious innovations, is beyond question, and the change of latitude we have undergone since leaving Uncle Sam's dominion, superinducing a change of habits on physical reasons, will increase the difficulty of regulating our system, and settling our Constitution.

If Uncle Abe has spread himself in a pacific manner to-day, [in his inaugural address] and held out the olive branch to Virginia and the temptation apple to the rest of the border States, it is more than likely that our Government will only afford protection to eight sisters for the next few years. Supposing, then, that the representation in Congress is only from eight States, it will become requisite, for legislative purposes, to institute a change in the mode of representation or in the ratio. This must, of course, be provided for by the Constitution, and its framing, at a time when the probabilities of increase are plainly against us, will make the change imperative. How to proportion the representation will be the questions of interest. Supposing the number to consist of sixty from all the States, we must first constitute a Senate and afterwards a House of Representatives. Proceeding upon the Constitutional rule of Uncle Sam, we invest sixteen men with half the legislative power of the whole country, and make them a depository for the public interests.

May we not well tremble lest the balance of power be allotted to those who are least identified with the true feeling of the people, least sympathizing in the political opinions of the majority—estranged from the popular will, and perhaps with

time biased with autocratical views, may look only to their elevation and interests? Can two men, selected as they generally are from those imbued with aristocratical proclivities, properly represent a million of their fellow-citizens who have no voice in their election? Are we to be regaled upon and deceived by the fallacious supposition that a Republican Government can retain its stature throughout its term of existence and therefore from a conscious reliance in our leaders of the present day, impregnate our Constitutions with a provision for future contingencies, constructed solely upon the existing state of things? Is that branch of the Legislature which is strictly designed as an equilibrium in continuing our nationality, more secure in the hands of a few men or of many?¹⁸

These are grave questions which will require the serious attention of Congress, in maturing such an instrument as will serve in all time as the inviolable Magna Charter of our liberties. To me, it seems that the three-fifths doctrine of slave representation should be obliterated forever, and in lieu thereof, let the ratio be based upon the full number of slaves. This would not only afford a protection to the institution of slavery, but would put a final stop to emancipation by damaging the interest of individual States and decreasing their power in the Halls of Congress.¹⁹ For the same reason that a change will have to be effected in the Senate, will a corresponding difference in the House be requisited [*sic*], and the most expedient method of

The Flag of the Confederate States, embracing the old tri-

¹⁷M. W. Canning's Montgomery Theatre ran constantly during the "capital" period. The Mitchell sisters were joined as featured performers by Mrs. Annie L. Taylor. A reviewer noted that Mrs. Taylor was "beautiful in person, [and] graceful in her movements," but added that she lacked self-confidence largely because it was her "first time in a public capacity before her former friends and associates." See *Montgomery Weekly Post*, February 27, 1861. *Ibid.*, February 13, 1861, mentions various other performers of more fame, and in late 1860 John Wilkes Booth had played Canning's Theatre.

¹⁸The permanent constitution, however, retained the method of electing representatives every two years by popular vote and senators every six years by the state legislatures. The number of representatives was reduced by increasing the number of persons they represented from thirty to fifty thousand. A handy reference for both the provisional and permanent Confederate constitutions is Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, I, 3-14, 37-54.

¹⁹Despite many arguments, the three fifths clause was retained. See Confederate Constitution Article I Section 2.

producing this in an impartial manner may become a matter of great difficulty.

color, but modified in arrangement to suit present circumstances, was raised for the first time this afternoon upon the rotunda of the Capitol. At noon as Congress had adjourned, an immense number of citizens, escorted by a detachment of the State Artillerists, bringing with them a brass howitzer, assembled in front of the building. At a few minutes before four o'clock seven young ladies, representing the seven Southern States, ascended the ledge girding the summit of the building, and amid the stirring strains of the 'Marseillaise,' arranged the Flag upon the Staff, and as the last chime of four was wafted to the woods the first gun was fired, 'Dixie,' was played off by the band, and the National Flag extended its folds to the joyful breeze. The Flag was unfurled by Miss Letitia Christiana [*sic*] Tyler, a grand-daughter of Ex-President [John] Tyler, and a lady of extraordinary beauty, intelligence, and patriotism. I fervently hope that the circumstances of her having been the first person to unfurl the emblem of Southern liberty, will force its significance upon the Union sentiments of the revered Virginian, and that ere long his voice may be raised with ours in defence of its honor and the interests of its people.²⁰

Mr. Benjamin, Attorney-General, has arrived, and is making arrangements for his official quarters.

William M. Browne, Esq., formerly of the Washington

²⁰The flag was described as "...a blue field, encircled with seven stars, and the stripes are red and white." As the crowd cheered and cannons fired, Mr. Canning's Theatre Band played the "Red, White, and Blue." See *Tuscaloosa Observer*, March 13, 1861, quoting *Montgomery Post*. Appropriately enough, Mrs. Davis arrived at Montgomery on the day the flag was raised. See Davis, *Memoir By His Wife*, II, 36. De Leon, *Four Years In Rebel Capitals*, 24, wrote of Miss Tyler that "All Montgomery...including all members of the government—stood bareheaded as the fair Virginian threw that flag to the breeze." Strode, *Jefferson Davis*, I, 425, points out that Davis was reluctant to give up the United States flag, and insisted that in the event of war, a different battle flag would provide enough distinction. Mrs. Chesnut was unimpressed by the ceremony, remarking that there was little spirit, an air of deadness and that the band played "Massa's in the Cold, Cold, Ground." See Chesnut, *Diary From Dixie*, 12.

Constitution, has accepted the position of Assistant Secretary of State.²¹

SIGMA

Montgomery, March 6, 1861

The only business of any consequence transacted in open session to-day, was the adoption of a resolution as a sort of initiative toward prohibiting the further introduction of slaves into the Confederacy, from any of the Southern States of the Union. It is generally known that Virginia, though clinging with almost frantic devotion to the stars and stripes, and overlooking her own interests and honor, for the purpose of preserving a mere national skeleton, still indulges in a trade, which, for many years past, has proved a lucrative measure for promoting the financial condition of the state. Though some of her citizens, from proximity to Northern institutions, and inhaling the precarious odors of free labor, have literally spent themselves in futile efforts to emancipate all the 'darkies,' nevertheless, the greater number of slave marts being located within her confines, and she being a central point from which the planters of the other Border States may obtain their slaves, this very interest will have great weight in drawing her toward her proper position in our Government. The passage of a Bill which would cut off the source of her revenue, so far as our Confederacy exists, would be the most powerful appeal that we could make to her at present. Should this policy be pursued, which I doubt not, and the Old Dominion continues under the sceptre of Lincoln she must, from the nature of things, soon become a free State, and relinquish all her boasted attachment to her Southern sisters.

The Alabama State Convention opened its session on Monday last, and will probably continue until the Permanent Constitution has been reported by Congress and submitted to them for adoption. At present they are engaged exclusively on internal State affairs.

A very curious and interesting issue was presented yester-

²¹Browne served for most of the war as Davis' aide-de-camp as colonel of cavalry. After the conflict he taught at the University of Georgia and engaged in state politics.

day upon the subject of the public lands lately belonging to the United States, but from whose authority and jurisdiction they were removed by the Ordinance of Secession. These lands were granted to Uncle Sam by the State of Georgia previous to the admission of Alabama into the Union, and the question was raised whether 'on the resumption of the powers delegated by the State these lands properly fall under the cognizance of Georgia or Alabama!'

Mrs. Davis held her first levee this morning, which was largely attended by the fashionable belles of Montgomery, and a great number of the *distingue* who are flocking to the Capitol. She is a lady of medium age, not remarkable for beauty, but wears a polished and dignified elegance and grace which attracts and pleases, far more than physical perfection. Her suavity of manner and the cordial reception she gave to her numerous visitors has given great satisfaction, and is an assurance for many future pleasant series.²²

Of course the engrossing topic of conversation is the inaugural of Lincoln. The current opinion here among the departments is, that war is inevitable, and the gallant Alabamians echo let it come. Their military ardor has, in no wise abated, but burns more freshly since the Confederate Flag has been flung to the breeze. With them it is no longer a fight for State, but for a common country, and all the anxiety they evince, is a disposition to garrison Fort Pickens. I trust that in the con-

²²DeLeon noted in **Four Years In Rebel Capitals**, 40-41, that the social affairs were similar to those at Washington, and at them "...were collected the most brilliant, the most gallant and most honored of the South." Two authorities stress the importance of the levees and balls and conclude, "In Montgomery the coming of Varina Howell Davis was an event as significant in the social sphere as had been the coming of her husband in the realm of politics." See Francis Butler Simkins and James Welch Patton, **The Women of the Confederacy** (Richmond and New York, 1936), 178. "In Montgomery there were a few dinners, but the society was not smoothed down. It was—such as it was—given over to balls and suppers," wrote Chesnut, **Diary From Dixie**, 226. Of this first reception Mrs. Chesnut recorded, "it was crowded; too many people of note to attempt to name them." See *ibid.*, 12. At thirty-five, Mrs. Davis had poise, wit, and self-confidence. She set a fast social pace and soon was known as "Queen Varina." A recent biographer writes that "she entertained in a formal and sophisticated way as levees, dinners, and luncheons drew in the visiting Confederates." See Ishbel Ross, **First Lady of the South The Life of Mrs. Jefferson Davis** (New York, 1958), 111.

tinuance of their 'Florida campaign,' as they are pleased to call it, some better arrangements will be made for supplying them with provender than those entered into by the State authorities. I am informed that their principal means of subsistence, was an invoice of biscuits, a slight shaving of which [could] have furnished Archimedes with a lever to raise the world on. I saw one of the articles in a huge frame suspended from one of the principal stores in town, with this significant endorsement thereon, 'Fort Morgan pain killer—instant death.'

[Henry T.] Ellet having declined the position of Postmaster-General, it has been tendered to John H. Reagan, the Ex-Congressman of Texas, who was unanimously recommended by his Delegation, and there exists no doubt of his acceptance.²³

The post of Treasurer in Mr. Memminger's Bureau is filled by Mr. Edward C. Elmore, a native of Alabama and connection of Judge [John A.] Elmore. His relatives, who are all influential citizens of this State, and his own ability as distinguished by his long connection with the principal banking establishment of this city, have secured him this position.²⁴

SIGMA

Montgomery, March 16, 1861

On the eve of a recess of Congress, everything in Montgomery is necessarily in a stir. From the servants at the hotels to the hackneys at the State House, every one is in a commotion. Among the office seekers and quiet lookers on the question, 'will the Congress adjourn; can it adjourn in the present state of public affairs?' is the all-important topic of discussion. The query is turned over and returned in a thousand different lights. Certainly the last news from Washington indicates that war will inevitably result. Why, then, does Congress adjourn over till May? The last gentleman I saw from Charleston—he arrived here an hour ago—informed me that the *Star of the West* and

²³See Walter F. McCaleb, "The Organization of the Post-Office Department of the Confederacy," *American Historical Review*, XII (October, 1906), 66-74.

²⁴John A. Elmore had been Yancey's senior partner in a law firm they operated. Edward C. Elmore was less well known, but was related to leading families in Alabama and South Carolina. See Owen, *Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, III, 540.

three other steamers were off the bar.²⁵ This cannot be so, because I have just seen an official dispatch from Washington, assuring me that Messrs. [Martin J.] CRAWFORD and [John] FORSYTH entertain the highest hopes that peace, and an acknowledgement of the independence of the seven Confederate States as a nation, will be the result of their mission. This news I am disposed to credit. It comes from a gentleman of excellent information, and is as reliable as any semi-official communication can well be, therefore I content myself, and conclude that, after all, the Congress is not of much use, and may just as well adjourn as not.

You are not aware, I suppose, other than by telegraph, that two of the Alabama delegates to Congress have resigned their seats. This is so. The first of these gentlemen is David P. Lewis, a prominent lawyer of Alabama, whose extensive law practice will not permit him to remain in Congress. The other is Hon. Thomas Fearn, an elderly gentleman of the medical profession, the requirements of which likewise call him from Congress.²⁶

Consequent upon the resignation of these gentlemen you may well imagine there was some commotion in the Alabama State Convention this morning, when an election was held to fill the vacancies.

In the place of Mr. Lewis of the Fifth District, Judge Henry Jones, of Lauderdale County, was chosen without opposition.²⁷ Nicholas Davis, familiarly known as *Nick* Davis, of Madison County, was, after a second ballot, chosen as the Representative

²⁵The *Star of the West* was the ship repelled by South Carolina batteries in January after attempting to relieve the Sumter garrison. The author was correct in his statement that the ship had not returned in March.

²⁶Lewis voted against but signed the Alabama Ordinance of Secession. He was elected to the Confederate Provisional Congress but resigned. After serving as a judge of circuit court, he passed through the Union lines and spent the rest of the war in Huntsville. See Brewer, *Alabama's History and Public Men*, 368. Fearn was a native Virginian who became an outstanding physical at Huntsville, Alabama. Ill-health was the primary reason for his resignation. See *ibid.*, 361.

²⁷Although Henry Cox Jones became "an earnest advocate of the Southern cause," as a member of Alabama's secession convention he had refused to vote for or sign the ordinance. A sketch of his career may be found in William Garrett, *Reminiscences of Public Men in Alabama for Thirty Years* (Atlanta, 1872), 365-366.

for the Sixth Congressional District.²⁸ Mr. Davis had some slight opposition, but it was finally withdrawn.

Both the gentlemen thus chosen were Co-operationists, [men opposed to secession or who favored it only as the joint action of the Southern states] and refused to vote for Secession, having been so instructed, but after the passage of the Ordinance, they acquiesced in it and signed it, believing it to be the sovereign act of the people of Alabama in passing it. They both voted upon the issues raised by Mr. [Robert] Jimieson [Jemison], as to the ratification of the Permanent Constitution, in the same way that that gentleman did. When he acquiesced in the ratification of the Convention they seconded him. As their reward they go to Congress—for his reward Mr. Jimieson [*sic*] will be the next Governor of Alabama. Since the burial of the war hatchet among the politicians in Alabama, Mr. Jemieson [*sic*] has become immensely popular. He is a fine old gentleman, one of the first in Alabama. He ranks chief among the far seeing men, and knows how to take care of number one.²⁹

The Alabama Convention will adjourn on Wednesday, at 12 M. It passed an Act to-day altering the Free Banking Act substituting the Stocks of the Confederate States of America for Stocks of the United States, at the same time allowing an issue of two for one. All foreign citizens and corporations are prohibited from holding Stocks in the Free Banks of Alabama.

The injunction of secrecy has been removed from an Act of Congress making appropriations for the Custom House at New Orleans and Charleston. The Act appropriates and sets apart, the sum of five thousand dollars for preserving the unfinished work upon the Charleston Custom House, during the

²⁸In her **Diary From Dixie**, 10, Mrs. Chestnut described Davis, because of his anti-secession role, as something of a "social curiosity." For his role in opposing secession see William H. Brantley, Jr., "Alabama Secedes," **The Alabama Review**, VII (July, 1964), 165-183; and William Russell Smith, **The History and Debates of the Convention of the People of Alabama, Begun and Held in the City of Montgomery, on the Seventh Day of January, 1861** (Montgomery, 1861).

²⁹Jemison was a native of Georgia. He was a non-practicing lawyer, but became a leading businessman of Tuscaloosa. As a cooperationist he was defeated 53 to 45 by the secessionist William M. Brooks, of Perry County, for president of Alabama's secession convention. In 1863 he succeeded Yancey as Confederate senator from Alabama. See Brantley, "Alabama Secedes," 170, 183.

year ending February 4th, 1862—likewise appropriating ten thousand dollars for roofing and preserving the unfinished work on the New Orleans Custom House, and fifteen thousand dollars to fitting up suitable rooms for the accomodation of the Courts and Clerk's office at New Orleans.

UNSIGNED [Probably SIGMA]

Montgomery, March 19, 1861

'Oh! Solitude, where are thy charms!'

A great reaction has taken place among the vivacious citizens of the Southern Capital since the adjournment of Congress. They go hither and thither, as if seeking some lost idol whose image they had fondly cherished, and from whom they have been cruelly separated. A great vacuum exists, where so lately had been exhibited the scenes of merriment and animation. The city may be likened unto a portrait frame, from which the beautiful picture had been removed. To one accustomed to the noise and hum of commercial emporiums, and the ever varying image of a seacoast city, the present Montgomery might be taken for the Necropolis of the South, when compared with the Montgomery of last week. Were it not for the State Convention and the office hunters, melancholia would become epidemical.

Speaking of the [State] Convention, it is really the best exhibition of the true Democracy, in its original genuine significance, to be found in the limits of the South. Not the wild, turbulent, unmanageable, crushing together of the ignorant '*sansculotte*,' not the factious assemblage of political demagogues, but the dignified, liberal, genuine representatives of the people. Those who meet together for the benefit of the public and not themselves, those, whose ambition is laid out upon their country, and not their clothes, independent, fearless of public censure, desirous of public approbation, each seems controlled by the dictates of his own conscience and not the oratory of sedition. There is no display of vanity; no strivings after self-aggrandizement, no longings for Egyptian fleshpots. The body is composed of those who have inherited the virtues of our ancestors unmingled with the vices of the present day. No one seems appre-

hensive that his motion won't pass because he has not clothed himself with broadcloth. One may see members occupying the most prominent positions in the State, whose elbows are not confined within proper limits, but seem to have been eminently successful in their struggles for independence and liberty. The want of an old shoe string, or the loose flowing cravat, is not a national dishonor. The homespun coat, the cotton vest, and the untanned shoe, are not signs of poverty or neglect of person.

There is no wrangling for mileage and *per diem*, no nervous twitching for State offices, no patronage extended to lobby members. Young and old are seated together in public counsel, and receive equal attention and deference. Among the leading men are Judge [E. S.] Dargan, of Mobile, Thomas H. Watts, of Montgomery, and Jere Clemens, and John T. Morgan, of Dallas.³⁰

Judge Dargan, who is evidently the leading spirit—the *animus* of the Convention—is of mature age, slight build, and somewhat Byronical in his dress. His face is one which excites compassion at first sight, attention at second, and interest thereafter. With long iron grey locks, wrinkled brow, classical nose somewhat aquiline, and mouth which is expressive of a rare combination of all the good qualities of human nature under a serious form, the *tout ensemble* of his face is decidedly lachrymose and pitiable.

Thomas H. Watts, a prominent candidate for the Guvernatorial Chair of Alabama, as successor to Gov. Moore, is the antipodes of Dargan in his personal appearance. Tall, corpulent, jocund, his equilibrium never destroyed, his soul beaming from his eye, his heart in his hand, he is by nature and merit the 'chief among ten thousand' of the true Southrons. Clemens is

³⁰Dargan, a native of North Carolina, settled in Mobile and became active in political affairs. He became chief justice of the state supreme court and represented his district in congress. Thomas Hill Watts was one of Alabama's leading lawyers and politicians. He served as governor from 1863 to 1865. Jeremiah Clemens, of Madison County, had served as United States senator. He had opposed secession. John T. Morgan was just beginning to make a name for himself in Democratic party councils. He later had a long and distinguished career in the United States Senate. For a brief record of Dargan see Brantley, "Alabama Secedes," 183. Watts' career is traced in Miss E. B. Culver, "Thomas Hill Watts," **Publications of the Alabama Historical Society**, IV (June 1902), 415-439. See **Biographical Directory of Congress**, 989, for a sketch of Clemens, and *ibid.*, 1587 for Morgan.

too well known to require description, and the *personnel* of Morgan is indicated in one word—Edwin Booth.

The Convention, instead of bestowing the public lands within the limits of the State upon the Confederacy, had decided to place them under her own fostering wing, and reserve them for railroad purposes. What little business remains on the Calendar is being rapidly disposed of, and the body will probably adjourn to-morrow.

The sanguine expectations of the Montgomerites to make their city a 'local habitation and a name' for the seat of Government, has caused a great rise in real estate. They who possess building lots are holding them with speculative tenacity, and those who have none are trying to get all they can.⁸¹

The inland business is lively—Cotton market dull, and stock on hand quite small.

SIGMA

Montgomery, March 21, 1861

The Alabama Convention has adjourned *sine die*, after passing an Ordinance providing that the General Assembly of the State shall cede a district ten miles square for a seat of Government of the Confederate States. This is evidently designed as an inducement for locating the capital within the limits of the particular spot. Huntsville has repeatedly urged her claims the State, but the difficulty will arise among her citizens as to upon the attention of Congress, and seems destined to be a formidable rival of Montgomery, whose sanguine speculators are enlarging their barns for a rich harvest of golden glory, in case of her success. As far as the situation of the City of Montgomery, and her facilities for approach by railroad and river communications are concerned, she has the preference, but when

⁸¹DeLeon in **Four Years In Rebel Capitals**, 28, wrote, "Her choice as the 'Cradle of the Confederacy,' the sudden access of population therefrom, the probable erection of furnaces, factories and storehouses, with consequent disbursement of millions—all these gave the humdrum town a new value and importance, even to the humblest citizen. Already small merchants saw their ledgers grow in size, to the tune of added cash to fall jingling into enlarged tills."

we consider the enormous standard of real estate, the exorbitant charges of hotel keepers, and the unusually high prices of goods, she will perhaps, suffer inglorious defeat. The great change which has been inaugurated in the rent of houses, and the increased demand giving additional strength to the owners for imposition, is being subject to a course of severe strictures by the local papers, which furnish fair indication of the true condition of things. Another circumstance which may be regarded as an evidence of the effects of the fallacious shortsighted policy actuating landholders, is the defeat of an Ordinance proposing to establish the permanent seat of State Government in this city.

An interesting fact, illustrative of the vast emigration Westward from South Carolina, is exhibited in a statement of the activities of the members of the Alabama Convention. Out of one hundred who compose this body, nineteen were born in your State, being equal in number with those who may claim this State as their birth place. Of the rest, twenty-five represent Georgia, twelve North Carolina, nine Tennessee, eight Virginia, four Kentucky, and the remaining four, Connecticut, New York, Ohio, and Maryland. Out of the entire number only seventy-nine have their names attached to the Ordinance of Secession, though it is believed that the others will soon avail themselves of that pleasure.

The military forces of the Confederate States are being concentrated at Pensacola, and the work of fortifying and strengthening every available position at that place, is being rapidly prosecuted under the superintendence of Brigadier General Braxton Bragg.³² It is estimated that by Wednesday next, he will be perfectly prepared to extend a cordial welcome to Gen. Lincoln's puppet shows. (I hope Uncle Abe will pardon me

³²Braxton Bragg, 1817-1876, was an 1837 graduate of West Point. He served in the Seminole and Mexican wars and on the secession of Louisiana, he was commissioned major general of militia. In March 1861, he was named brigadier general in the Confederate Army and sent to command the Pensacola-Mobile region. It was Bragg who faced the Union garrison at Fort Pickens during the crisis months of early 1861. From 1861 to 1865 Bragg rose in Confederate service to command corps and army units. He led an invasion of Kentucky in 1862 and served in several important campaigns. Noted for his inability to get along with subordinates, Bragg was relegated to minor commands after his failure at Chattanooga in 1863. See Don C. Seitz, **Braxton Bragg, General of the Confederacy** (Columbia, South Carolina, 1924).

for general eyes-ing him.) The Company of Atlanta Volunteers, who were declined by Governor [Joseph] Brown, of Georgia, in consequence of their refusing to enter the service except with their own officers, have been accepted by the Government and ordered to Pensacola . . .³³

SIGMA

Montgomery, March 23, 1861

The internal machinery of the different Executive Departments is still under progressive development. The old adage that 'Rome was not built in a day,' is being realized to its utmost signification. The thousand and one organ grinders who are to manipulate the multitudinous offices of State, are daily finding 'local habitations,' and under the skilled workmanship of the 'master mechanics,' we may expect the great machine of Government to be fully prepared for active operations in the course of two weeks. The rapidity with which the different bureaus have already been organized, is really marvellous when compared with the delay which characterized the old Federal Administration, and particularly when we remember that one is the construction of an entirely new system, while the other a mere succession of offices, whose arrangements resulted from long experience and were perfected to their minutest details.

With reference to the appointees, great regard has been entertained for those who have distinguished themselves for efficiency and deportment under the Washington Administrations, and whose patriotism caused their withdrawal from the Federal Soup Associations. Nor have the border states been deprived of representatives, for we may cite name after name whose credentials were endorsed with Virginian, Tennessean, and other non-Confederate recommendations, and even New York, Indiana, and other Lincolnish dwelling places have contributed men for our assistance. In the appointment of these officers, politics have evidently been eschewed, and the Secretaries have properly

³³Beginning in March 1861, controversy began over authority to appoint officers of troops. Governor Joseph E. Brown began a policy of opposition to the Confederate government's plans, especially with regard to Georgia. See T[thomas] Conn Bryan, **Confederate Georgia** (Athens, Georgia, 1953), 80-81; Louise Biles Hill, **Joseph E. Brown and the Confederacy** (Chapel Hill, 1939), 48-78.

looked only to the qualifications of the officers, considering the oath of support as amply sufficient to guarantee fidelity and confidence. Whatever prejudices this method of election may have otherwise excited, the intention upon which it was based, seems to justify itself in the popular mind. The lists of appointments have not yet been published, but I am informed they contain the names of many South Carolinians.

The bonds authorized by Congress for the support of the Government have not been issued yet, though the applications made for them have been very numerous. It is quite certain that they will not remain upon the market for ten days. Parties in New Orleans are desirous of taking up ten millions at a premium of two per cent, and application was made for the same amount by persons wishing to invest them in the establishment of a Cotton Bank in London. This offer has been rejected, and it appears to be the desire of the Secretary that the bonds should circulate amongst our people at large, in order to give them the best opportunity for an investment of extraordinary security and profit. In agreeance with this design the minimum bonds have been placed at fifty dollars so as to bring them within the reach of poor as well as rich men. The policy of thus distributing them is especially commendable, as it withdraws from the limits of speculation. It is universally agreed among financiers that had a loan of fifty millions been in process of negotiation, it could have been easily effected upon the same terms—The great interest manifested by leading mercantile men in this investment, and the entire confidence exhibited by them, is a fair index to the manner of raising future bonds for Government purposes.³⁴

The Government buildings are being extended, and every accommodation offered for the comfortable transaction of business.

The offices are located in great block buildings which have just been completed, and which were formerly designed for

³⁴The story of Southern fiscal operations has been recently recounted in Richard C. Todd, *Confederate Finance* (Athens, Georgia, 1954). But see also John C. Schwab, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865: A Financial and Industrial History of the South during the Civil War* (New York, 1901).

(Cotton offices. They are situated in the central part of the city, and conveniently near to the business marts.³⁵

Two of the Delegates to the Alabama State Convention who have patriotically yielded their objections to certain articles in the new Constitution, and who have sworn to support, and by their votes endorsed and ratified it appear in the morning papers with a protest, in which they urge objections against the provision prohibiting the reopening of the Slave Trade; the form of admitting new States, and the method of Presidential elections.

The first two objections have taken a good foothold among the Alabamians and are being liberally discussed in private offices. They are by no means disaffected, but express a strong aversion to a Constitutional prohibition of slavery and the seeming strictures which the second ground seems to bring in operation upon the States Rights doctrine. In conjunction with many others, they fear the ultimate admission of non-slaveholding States, and a subsequent renewal of the fearful issues which have placed us in our present condition. They represent but a minority, and have stated their objections in a candid form, not to create dissatisfaction among their constituents, but to express liberally their own conceptions upon two vital articles in the document. With the rest of the delegates they have subscribed to its ratification, and to the people pledged their support of its every provision.³⁶

There is no doubt that it will be ratified by every State . . . affected by it.

³⁵The government offices were in the building owned by the Montgomery Fire Insurance Company, on the corner of Bibb and Commerce Streets. The only exception was the Post Office Department, which was located on the second floor of a building on the northeast corner of South Perry Street and Washington Avenue. See Peter A. Brannon, "The Origin of the Confederate Post Office Department And Comments On Some Stamps," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XX (Spring, 1958), 65.

³⁶The foreign slave trade was not reopened and congress was empowered to forbid the importation of slaves from outside the Confederacy. The right of transit and sojourn in any Confederate state was guaranteed, and slaves in any territory had to be protected. The electoral college was retained, although the President's tenure was limited to a single term of six years. See Fitts, "Confederate Convention: The Constitutional Debate," *passim*.

Large numbers of troops, both regulars and volunteers, have lately passed through Montgomery to Pensacola and it is estimated that in and around the Bay are quartered at least four thousand troops. I believe that the Administration have [*sic*] little confidence in the pacific telegrams of every day and are determined that no deception on the part of Uncle Abe shall catch the Confederates napping. Numerous batteries are being erected and strengthened, and military men think that by Thursday Gen. Bragg will be prepared to speak his sentiments to Lieut. [Adam J.] Slemmer.³⁷

George W. Olney³⁸ of the New York *Day Book* and George N. Sanders³⁹ *Tribune* correspondent are here at present receiving the cordialities of the Montgomery Press.

The Cotton business has been quite active for the past week and large shipments have been made for the port of New Orleans. The inland trade is quite lively, and the dry goods men of Davis Avenue expect a good *spring-ing* traffic.

SIGMA

Montgomery, April 1, 1861

The War Department is prosecuting its labors with great assuinity and earnestness. Large numbers of men are being recruited in Tennessee, Texas, Louisiana, and Georgia. Requisitions have been issued upon Gov. Brown for one thousand men.

³⁷Adam Jacoby Slemmer, 1828-1868, was a Pennsylvanian who graduated from West Point in 1850. In 1861 he was commander of the Pickens garrison and distinguished himself at Pensacola, becoming an early Union hero. He was subsequently promoted to brigadier general and spent most of the war on staff duty.

³⁸The Montgomery *Advertiser*, March 25, 1861, stated, "We are pleased to acknowledge a call from George W. Olney, Esq., one of the editors of this staunch Northern advocate of Southern institutions [the *Day Book*]. We are pleased to learn [it] is thriving, and wish it continued success. Mr. Olney is stopping at the Exchange Hotel, and will remain in the city only a few days."

³⁹George N. Sanders (variously spelled Saunders) was a political adventurer from Kentucky. He, Clement C. Clay of Alabama, and James B. Holcombe of Virginia got involved in the abortive 1864 "peace plan" in which Horace Greeley played a part. The "plot" was designed to help Democratic chances of victory in the national election. See Merle E. Curti, "George N. Sanders—American Patriot of the Fifties," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXVII (January, 1928), 79-97; Robert S. Harper, *Lincoln and the Press* (New York, 1951), 311-312; and Hoyt Harner Harlan, *Lincoln and Greeley* (Urbana, Illinois, 1953), 295-321.

Seventeen hundred Mississippians are on their way to Pensacola; in New Orleans a Zouave Battalion, composed of the wealthy Creoles, many of whom have been long in the French Army, and are thoroughly skilled in that peculiar order of tactics designated the Zouave drill, is being rapidly organized;⁴⁰ all the men who can be equipped and exercised are concentrating in the American Sebastopol.⁴¹ Large quantities of arms are daily arriving and being stored, and every preparation is made to meet the conflict if any there be.

Among the South Carolinians who are holding prominent positions in the Bureaus of Government, I find the genial face of Dr. H. D. Capers, an erratic, impulsive, and patriotic son of the Rev. Bishop [William Capers] whose name has precedence among Carolinian philanthropists.⁴² He graduated from the Military Academy in 1854, and after receiving a diploma from the Medical College he removed to the Empire State, where, during the Presidential campaign of last year, he won his laurels as the advocate of States Rights, and subsequently the front of the secession party in that State. When the first steps were taken towards the siege of Sumter his military ardor was aroused, and immediately leaving family and friends, he was found amongst your earnest laborers on Morris Island, where he was commissioned by Gov. Pickens as a Surgeon in the Regular Army, which position he held until the assembling of Congress. Here he arrived in time to represent his State among the marshals upon the occasion of the Inauguration, and immediately upon the organization of the Cabinet Bureaus he was

⁴⁰Zouave drill, used in both armies, was modeled on French Algerian light infantry. These troops were noted for their ability to fire and reload from a prone position. Zouave units in both armies affected the colored uniforms pioneered by the Algerians. The *Montgomery Post*, February 13, 1861, described a Zouave as "A fellow with a red bag having sleeves to it for a coat; with two red bags without sleeves to them for trousers; with an embroidered and braided bag for a vest; with a cap like a red woollen saucepan; with yellow boots like the fourth robber in a stage play; with a mustache like two half pound paint brushes, and with a sort of sword-gun or gun-sword for a weapon, that looks like the result of a love affair between an amorous broadsword and a lonely musket—that is a Zouave."

⁴¹Here "Sigma" seems to refer to Pensacola.

⁴²William Capers was an outstanding figure in the South Carolina Episcopal Church. Henry Dickson Capers later wrote a biography of Memminger and a novel entitled *Bellevue*. See A. S. Salley, Jr., "Captain William Capers And Some Of His Descendants," *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, II (October, 1901), 285, 289.

tendered a chief position, which he now holds with a prospect of rich honors before him.

If one should undertake to make suggestions to the City Fathers—'the powers that be'—as to the mode of furnishing a civilized Sabbath to the weary laborer, who should enjoy the day of rest, he would be forced to the necessity of writing a book, and, of the two evils, he would be more likely to endure the torture rather than father the book. A cheerful Sunday would be a novelty here. From early dawn, the first attempt that the birds make to sing, their voices fall into a sepulchral and lachrymose guttural noise, and such a thing as fluttering in the cage is, I believe, beyond the recollection of the oldest inhabitant. The church bells are chimed at irregular long intervals, in order to avoid any strain upon their nervous sensibilities, and churchyards yawn in the broad daylight from the very fatigue of hearing the monotonous sound. You must practice the day previous upon your physiognomy, in order to prevent any relaxation of the muscles, or yielding to indecent cachinations [*sic*]. You must ascertain the shortest, and most direct road homewards. In short, I find but little advance made from the days of Miles Standish. A great moral revolution must soon take place, or we may be accounted as Sabatically lost in the obscurity of the dark ages.

Another evil I may speak feelingly upon is the superabundance of dog flesh. There is no street, square or house which is not enlivened with the surly growl of one or more of the canines, and to walk after dark is to anticipate and realize a concert. A gentleman versed in statistics informs me reliably that he has encountered thirty-seven along five blocks, and I have heard the proposal to change the name of the city to Kunopolis [Curnopolis] vigorously discussed.

I may safely predict that 'something is going to turn up,' for if the old saying that 'coming events cast their shadows before' be true, we may expect a rich harvest of news, since I am happy to greet once more here the 'good spirited' [W. H.] Pritchard, the Associated Pressman.⁴³ He is laboring under a

⁴³Pritchard's activities were also recorded in *Montgomery Post*, February 13, 1861. The Associated Press was organized in New York in 1848. It was the first real cooperative news-gathering organization in America. See Oliver Gramling, *AP The Story of News* (New York, 1940), 21.

premonition of something strange about to happen, and has returned to the city to 'nip it in the bud.'

The trade of the city is largely on the increase. Cotton has maintained itself firmly, and the demand for it has far exceeded the supply. The incoming supply is being taken by speculators, and a market rise is expectantly looked for.

SIGMA

Montgomery, April 8, 1861

At last the scales have fallen from our eyes, and shadowy hopes and doubts have winged their way, and face to face we stand with bloody Mars. All 'reconstructive' breathings have been hushed, all babblers for peace been dismissed, and henceforth on every breeze shall be swept along the clash of arms. The Administration at Washington seems bent upon destruction; their warlike preparations, and every successive hour confirms the belief that the declaration of hostilities cannot be postponed much longer. Our Commissioners will be withdrawn in forty-eight hours if some great change does not take place in the views of the Republican Cabinet. General [P. G. T.] BEAUREGARD⁴⁴ of your city, has reported himself as fully prepared, and, in conjunction with BRAGG at Pensacola, has received discretionary orders to open his batteries as soon as the exigencies requires. The visit and advice of the Northern Governors to LINCOLN, and the recent action of the Old Dominion, have combined to invigorate the 'African's' courage, and from the intimations and indications of the present, we may expect startling developments for the future.⁴⁵

⁴⁴In April 1861, Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard, 1819-1893, commanded Confederate forces in Charleston harbor. Beauregard had distinguished himself in the Mexican War and had been appointed superintendent of West Point just prior to his resignation from the army in 1861. In Confederate service, he directed the attack on Fort Sumter and exercised major commands in both eastern and western theatres of war. See T. Harry Williams, **P. G. T. Beauregard: Napoleon in Gray** (Baton Rouge, 1955).

⁴⁵Virginia, as a border state, had a deep affection for the Union but held common ties with the South. Governor John Letcher pursued a moderate course. He called the legislature into special session in November 1860, and as late as January 1861, he was critical of South Carolina. On January 14, a law passed calling for a convention but it specified

The Confederate officials have utterly renounced any entertainment of peace, and are rapidly working for the salvation and redemption of Pickens and Sumter. The fortifications under Bragg's supervision and command are hourly strengthened by every resource and expedient available to man. He has eighteen hundred Mississippi Riflemen, one regiment [of] Zouaves, fourteen companies of Alabamians, twelve hundred Georgians, and one or more regiments of Floridians. Arms, ammunition and stores are plentifully supplied and he is provisioned for six months if a protracted siege be necessary. As soon as a declaration is made, it is currently believed that the attack upon the two points will be simultaneous, so that one week will probably settle the minds of our enemies as to our ability to maintain our independence.

Among the notables who are on their way to Pensacola is Col. Earl Van Dorn, who has just returned from Texas, where he has hitherto been famed as the Border King. His report to the War Department presents a favorable condition of affairs in that region, and silences the report of an expected invasion of the Mexicans.⁴⁶

Treasury notes have been issued to the amount of twenty-one hundred dollars, at three sixty-five hundredths per centum, and there is a large demand for them. The first is held by

that any action it took would require ratification by the people. Composed of a majority of unionists, the convention met at Richmond on February 13, and rather than pass an ordinance of secession, made honest efforts to secure peace. Despite the persuasive efforts of secessionists from the lower South, on April 4, the convention voted down an ordinance of secession. After Fort Sumter was fired on April 12 and Lincoln indicated he would meet force with force, the Virginia convention reluctantly adopted the ordinance of secession on April 17. On April 24 Virginia entered into league with the Confederate States and on May 23 the ordinance was ratified by popular referendum. See Henry T. Shanks, **The Secession Movement in Virginia 1847-1861** (Richmond, 1934).

⁴⁶Earl Van Dorn, 1820-1863, graduated from West Point in 1842 and became noted for his actions against the Indians on the frontier. He became a Confederate brigadier general in 1861 and served briefly in the gulf states. He later served in the Trans-Mississippi Department at Pea Ridge and followed that service by leading the Army of the West at Corinth. In the winter of 1862 he opposed Grant in Mississippi. Van Dorn was killed in March 1863, at Spring Hill, Tennessee, by a man who claimed that the general had "violated the sanctity of his home." This was denied by Van Dorn's supporters. See Stanley F. Horn, **The Army of Tennessee: A Military History** (Indianapolis, 1941).

Judge [Alex B.] Clitherall,⁴⁷ the Register of the Treasury Department, who is resolved upon its preservation for the sake of future 'generations yet unborn.'

Gen. Benjamin Patterson, of Huntsville, has been appointed by President Davis Marshal for Alabama.⁴⁸ This position he has held since [Andrew] Jackson's Administration, with the exception of a brief period during [Zachary] Taylor's Presidency. He was engaged in the Creek War as one of the body guard of Jackson, and by his courage and discretion won the admiration and confidence of Old Hickory. His appointment is heartily endorsed throughout the State.

The Reverend Mr. [?] Cabiness, who has been resident Baptist Missionary at Shanghai, is lecturing here, and by his eloquence and the earnest explicitness with which he treats the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire, attracts very large audiences.⁴⁹

An 'affair of honor' was settled at Pensacola this morning. The parties, [E. A.] Banks, of the [Montgomery] *Confederation*, and J. Calhoun Moses, late correspondent of the *Charleston News*, having interchanged a political paragraph or two, which exercised them both, they had a resort to the 'code.' For this purpose they visited the seat of war, and to-day casted up their accounts, and made a settlement—The weapon in the hands of Mr. Moses refused to do its duty at the right moment, in consequence of the failure of percussion, whilst his friend's ball passed harmlessly through the lapel of his coat. An amicable

⁴⁷Clitherall was a transplanted North Carolinian. From a law practice at Tuscaloosa he drifted into state politics. In 1853 Clitherall served as grand patriarch of the Sons of Temperance in Alabama. In the Confederate government he was assistant secretary to the provisional congress in 1861; for a brief time he was secretary *pro tempore* to President Davis. He served as Register of the Treasury for about a year. See Brewer, *Alabama's History and Public Men*, 479.

⁴⁸The correct spelling for the marshal's name is "Pattison." His official title was Marshal of the Confederate States for the Judicial District of Alabama. It became the general policy to reappoint former United States district attorneys and marshals. See William M. Robinson, Jr., *Justice in Grey* (Cambridge, 1941), 125, 173. The appointment of Pattison and others is noted in *Journal of the Confederate Congress*, I, 185.

⁴⁹The Reverend Mr. Cabiness, a Virginian by birth, was missionary for the Southern Baptist Convention. The *Montgomery Advertiser*, April 6, 1861, mentioned that he preached several sermons in the city and delivered a lecture on the religious condition of the Chinese.

adjustment was then made, which is a source of gratification to us all, as the loss of neither of the gentlemen could be borne. They are both of high standing and attainments, and their differences were much regretted by their friends.

‘May all other duels have this upshot in the end.’⁵⁰

SIGMA

April 10, 1861

No one knoweth what a day may bring forth. I have never before now felt this simple sentence in all its terrible significance. The helpless state of mental anxiety in which we are chained, by witnessing, from a distance, the numberless manipulations which are being made by the Washingtonians, combined with the impossibility of obtaining reliable information concerning designs of our Administration, are conducive to tortuous suspense. There is no hour of the day when we could be surprised at hearing the minute gun which is to signalize the inter-American conflict.

The Administration is suffering from great pressure made upon it by those who are willing to incur the responsibility of opening the attack upon Sumter and Pickens, but I do not think they will yield at present, unless some extraordinary circumstance beyond the desideratum of obtaining possession be developed.

The President feels no disposition to precipitate a conflict until the Commissioners have absolutely relinquished all hope, of obtaining an answer to their communications, in which the policy of Lincoln must be definitely expressed, or until it be manifest by act that a reinforcement of either post is designed. Only a few days will be required ere such revelations can be made, and until then we must endure the agony of suspense. Our Government, by the delay which has occurred, is enabled

⁵⁰The duel, which grew out of several newspaper articles by the protagonists, attracted wide attention and was symptomatic of the tensions of the times. The two men returned to Montgomery after an amicable post-duel settlement. See *Montgomery Weekly Post*, April 16, 1861.

to threaten, and moreover to enforce an obedience to its command, but it seems expedient to postpone any indication of its ability until it be manifested to all mankind that the consequences of civil war which must necessarily accrue, will attach to the other side.

The Cabinet are [*sic*] in session daily, sometimes until after mid-night. They are informed of every movement which takes place in Washington City or other important points North. Orders are hourly issuing by telegraph and special messengers. Earnest preparations are being made, and no stone is left unturned, no effort spared to make our first movement, when the time arrives, such a brilliant one as may strike terror to the hearts of the Republicans. All the military forces in the Confederate States are cautioned to be ready and prepared for any emergency, and as you have already been informed, requisitions have been made upon every State for three thousand additional twelve month volunteers. What the object may be in this latter order, we are not prepared to say, but if any demonstrations be made in your neighborhood and that of Florida, it will require but little sagacity to judge of the destination of twenty thousand light infantry forces. These forces on call will probably be concentrated at this place, where the convenience of ready supplies may be extended, but where they may be marched to, is for you to anticipate.

No train arrives here without bringing one or two hundred soldiers, who are immediately transported to Pensacola. The enthusiasm which exists among the volunteers of this place is grand to contemplate. Night after night are they drilled for hours in all the heavy monotony of tactics, but no murmur escapes them, except a longing for the fight. Most all of them have been fully equipped at their own expense, and are prepared to bear the burden of their subsistence from their private incomes. They are composed of young men of large means, who are sacrificing every interest of a personal character for the gratification of serving their country. I have always liked to associate the Carolinians and Alabamians together, but I have never discovered the close affinity until observing the military ardor of the latter.

One company of volunteers are encamped in the suburbs of the City, who arrived here without orders, but who have settled themselves upon the camping ground, and are resolved never to return home to their families and friends unless the War Department give them a chance at the enemy.

Although the books have not yet been opened for the disposal of the Confederate Bonds, ten thousand dollars of the desirable article were sold at a premium of three per cent. The purchase was made by W. T. Corbin, Esq., a Louisiana planter, who has always been distinguished as a skillful financier, and possesses foresight and forethought enough to anticipate this valuable investment. I begin to fear the people will complain shortly about the limited amount which is offered for sale. Thousands are on the *qui vive* to grasp at the glittering gems as soon as exposed, and were the amount quadrupled it would command a handsome premium at once.

Judge [John] Hemphill, of Texas, who has declined the appointment of District Judge, has been in this city since the adjournment of Congress.⁵¹ He is engaged upon a digest of the laws of the late United States, and will shortly produce a code of such of them as remain in force in this Confederacy, their modifications, and the additional Acts of Congress. The work is laborious, and requires the handicraft of his Honor. Much regret is expressed at his declining the position.

Last night a rumor obtained great prevalence in the streets to the effect that the fight had commenced in Charleston. You may imagine the immense sensation which it produced. Many were desirous of chartering the telegraph to transport them forthwith, while some, more practical, were making preparations to employ 'shank's mare,' wherewith to witness and participate in the engagement. According to the telegraph seven war steamers were off your Bar, Gen. BEAUREGARD had opened his batteries, and a bloody conflict was in progress.

⁵¹Judge Hemphill probably declined the judgeship because of the physical strain the job required. He had served as chief justice of Texas, and as a member of the provisional congress, he served on the Committee on the Judiciary. Hemphill refused pay and remained in congress until he died in January 1862. His body was sent in state to Austin, Texas, and the members of congress wore public mourning for thirty days. See Robinson, *Justice in Grey*, 124-125.

The excitement intensified, every hour lent credit to the rumor, until midnight destroyed the effect by announcing the hoax. A general collapse was the consequence, and today every body is ashamed to say anything about Fort Sumter, being afraid of a catechising about yesterday's cheat and his individual damages.

There are *only* twenty-one candidates for the next Governorship of this State, rather democratical representation is it not?

Among the distinguished persons in the city is Lieut. James H. North, late of the United States Navy, now in the service of the Confederacy.⁵² His antecedents, ability and patriotism need no comment at my hands; it is only to be hoped that they will meet with a better recognition than they obtained under his late Government.

While I write the 'Montgomery Blues,' an old corps identified with the Mexican and Florida wars, are *en route* to the parade ground, where they are to contend in a rifling match for a silver goblet, from the fair hands of the fascinating Maggie Mitchell, the 'Pet of the Petticoats.'⁵³

SIGMA

Montgomery, April 15, 1861

'Nine cheers' for the glorious old Palmetto, the first to declare by solemn Ordinance and to assert by saltpetre her independence and separation, now and *forever*, from the noxious atmosphere of Republicanism. On the morning of Friday we received the first official intimation that the 'dogs of war' had been loosed, and amid the boomings of the cannon and the hal-lujahs of a redeemed people we flung the Flag of Congress to

⁵²Lt. James H. North became a Confederate purchasing agent, and in March 1861, he was sent to the northern states to purchase steamers of war. In May 1861, he accompanied James D. Bulloch, the naval representative of the Confederacy in Europe, to England on an unsuccessful mission to purchase ironclads. See Durkin, **Mallory**, 150, 154, 158.

⁵³"Sigma" referred to the performance of Miss Mitchell in a play entitled "Pet of the Petticoats." See **Montgomery Post**, April 10, 1861. In October 1863, she was playing in Washington and performed in newly built Ford's Theatre before a large audience that included President Lincoln. See Margaret Leech, **Reville in Washington, 1860-1865** (New York and London, 1941), 277.

the breeze. I have seldom witnessed more enthusiastic demonstrations of joy from a people than those expressed by the capital-ists of this place. No sorrow or regret paled the cheek of man; no fear was counted among the multitudinous emotions of their breasts; no doubt darkened their minds. But one cry was heard from the highways and byways, the halls of Government and the parlors of the family circles, one universal cry of gratitude at the removal of suspense, and praise and honor to the noble Carolinians who were then braving their lives and fortunes for the honor of the Southern Confederacy.

The news offices were beset with hundreds of citizens clamoring for information, but in vain. The War Department had forbidden the transmission of private dispatches as tending to unnecessary excitement and wanton exaggeration, and we could hear nothing except reliable, because official news. The furor continued throughout the whole day and developed itself fully at night. A serenade to the honor of the President and chivalrous Secretary of War was given, and very largely attended. His Excellency failing to appear, in consequence of bodily prostration and excessive fatigue, the call was responded to by Gen. [Leroy P.] Walker. As you have doubtless been informed, he predicted with the accuracy of inspired prophecy the surrender of Fort Sumter on the subsequent day, and also the flag of the Confederate States raised upon the dome of the Capitol at Washington in three months. Were the Northern people, said he, not satisfied with such a demonstration of our ability and prowess, it should wave over the terrace of Fanieul [sic] Hall. His first prediction was verified by meridian the following day, and the rest of the prophecy is veiled in the mysteries of the coming months.⁵⁴

⁵⁴Walker referred to historic Fanieul Hall in Boston. The *Montgomery Weekly Post*, April 16, 1861, reported, "Perhaps no former event that has ever been announced in our city, produced a more instantaneous enthusiasm, than the announcement... of the surrender of Fort Scmter ... The scene, for a short time was indescribable." A reporter for the *Montgomery Advertiser*, April 13, 1861, noted that "The people seemed wild with excitement, and congregated around the telegraph office in vast numbers for the purpose of ascertaining the news." Later a participant recalled "Bon-fires blazed in every street, and, by their red glare, crowds met and exchanged congratulations, amid the wildest enthusiasm; while the [be]verage dear to the cis-Atlantic heart was poured out in libations wonderful to see." See DeLeon, *Four Years in Rebel Capitals*, 36.

When the surrender of the fort was announced here on Saturday, the great flag, which was made by the special order of Congress, was unfurled by two Carolinians, Gen. Charles G. Wagner and Dr. Henry D. Capers.⁵⁵ A salute of fifteen guns for the Confederacy, the Cabinet, and Gen. Beauregard, was fired by a detachment of 'True Blues,' under an order from the War Department, and the dispatches declaring the glorious consummation was read. There was a general desertion from all the offices of the Department, and all Montgomery seemed to have concentrated in one spot. A breathless silence marked the attention of the populace until the reader spoke of the fall of the 'stars and stripes,' when a shout, such as the hosts of heaven might hear, rent the air. I cannot anatomize human nature, but firmly believe that if the thoughts which possessed the minds of the assembled thousands had been subjected to a critical inspection, none would have been discovered which was not pregnant with gratitude to the bravery and pride of Carolina.

By this last march of the State which gave birth to Calhoun, [Robert Y.] Hayne, [George] McDuffie and others, in the progress of greatness, you have surmounted the pinnacle of glory, and enshrouded the Palmetto with the dismantled folds of that dazzling grandeur which the 'mother of statesmen' [Virginia] has relinquished for the sackcloth and ashes of Republican dominion. Carolina once sought, like an obedient child, the guidance and consent of Virginia, and was rejected; like a pampered babe it has remained for her to spring up in the giant strength of her Herculean existence and cast the proud gauntlet at the feet of the once powerful, now prostrate Government, of which Virginia still continues an uncared for fragment. No greater reward for patriotism and valor can be obtained than that of bidding defiance to the flag and fleet of a country which once has precedence over the whole world. The honor of having triumphed over the snarling hounds who pretend to represent thirty-four sovereign States, and who have been beguiled into believing that one ship (in the words of the

⁵⁵General Charles G. Wagoner was chief clerk of the War Department. At the building housing the department, Wagoner stood under the flag, and, acting on the directions of Secretary Walker, read the dispatches relating to Fort Sumter to the crowd. He read slowly and was interrupted constantly by the cheering audience. See *Montgomery Advertiser*, April 15, 1861.

oracular [Horace] Greeley) on the coast of Carolina 'would make blue cockades as scarce as blue roses,' is of itself sufficient to emblazon her name with the stamp of a brilliant immortality.

But patriotism though germinating and fully developed in the birthplace of Sumter and Marion, is not altogether confined there. On the shores of Santa Rosa Island will in a few days be inscribed the record of gallant deeds which the tide of time shall never blot out.⁵⁶ Amid the sons of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida, breathes the same pure spirit of liberty, and in the maintenance of our common cause, will their blood flow as freely as that offered as a sacrifice around the walls of the lately beleaguered fortress. The same Providence which sustained the righteous cause in one place will strengthen it in another, and ere a twelvemonth may elapse, our independence shall be gladly acknowledged by the craven cowards who keep their nightly vigils over the bristling bayonet.

The news of the volunteer call of the righteous and peace-loving Abraham has excited the liveliest emotions of pleasure in Alabama. Preparations will be made to give the seventy-five thousand such a reception as is seldom extended except to such distinguished visitors.

Within the last three days two spies have been arrested, and are being kindly cared for. The first, a certain Lieut [John L.] Werden [Worden], of the United States Navy, was the bearer of dispatches to Slemmer, at Fort Pickens, and upon exhibiting pretended written instructions to the inspection of the War Department here, was permitted to visit that fortification, where treacherously he communicated other orders than those shown, and caused the reinforcement of Pickens. The fact having been ascertained, he was arrested by Gen. Bragg and conveyed hither, where his goods, wares, and merchandise, upon inquiry, proved to be of such a character as rendered a pressing invitation to remain here imperative. Of the other I shall say

⁵⁶Santa Rosa Island runs for miles along the Florida coast and is separated from the mainland by Santa Rosa Sound and Pensacola Bay. Fort Pickens was located at the western end of the island.

nothing, as no positive information has been obtained as yet.⁵⁷ George N. Sanders, the reconstruction Douglassite and *Tribune* correspondent, is still haunting Government bureaus, and, I regret to say, seems to enjoy the confidence of the leading men. It is surprising to me that he should be even tolerated, but 'there is no accounting for tastes.' What wild scheme he is plotting, I fail to imagine. He excites much curiosity among the 'natives,' and from the indications of the temperature of the people, I begin to hope that their mercury is in the rise, and that ere long the place will be too warm for him.⁵⁸

SIGMA

⁵⁷Lt. Worden, 1819-1897, was captured after delivering orders to Fort Pickens. He was held until October 1861, when he was released. Worden later commanded the *Monitor* against the *Merrimac* in March 1862.

⁵⁸The *Courier's* reporter was not alone in his mistrust of Sanders. See letter of still another "Sigma" in Richmond [Virginia] *Daily Dispatch*, April 29, 1861, berating Sanders' activities.

CHAPTER IV

AFFAIRS OF STATE

After the first clash of arms, the government at Montgomery moved into a difficult phase. Dire warnings and defiant speeches to the North had been translated into the reality of Fort Sumter. The government now had to become an effective functioning agency.

The four states of the Upper South, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina, had not yet seceded. Providing for their admission and coping with administrative and legislative problems were as important as the more spectacular military maneuvers in the field. As the *Courier* reporters show, April and May were months of work.

Montgomery, April 16, 1861

We are in receipt of numerous dispatches from reliable sources in Virginia, announcing the extreme probability of the withdrawal of the Old Dominion in the course of the succeeding twenty-four hours. Expectation has been on tiptoe all day, and sunset has arrived to cast a shadow of doubt over our minds. She has numerous children here, who, wearied and disgusted by the delay and procrastination of the Submission Convention, left their native soil to cast their fortunes in 'Dixie.' They are growing hopeful, however, and all agreed this morning that our information with regard to the passage of the Secession Ordinance would be substantiated. A little time is requisite (in the interim which marks the purification from Federalism,) for the Union and Letcher-ous men to absolve themselves of their past sins, and to recover from the effects of reaction produced in their politics by the guns of Fort Sumter.

Every individual member of that illustrious Convention who has toadied to Lincoln on the ayes and noes, will feel constrained to ventilate his ideas, and square his record by appearing to yield to the wishes of the people. It has been unfortunate for Virginia that her Convention was called prematurely. A

large majority of the representatives were elected upon the Union ticket, and although the people have instructed them time and again to vote the Ordinance, their cowardly spirits have sought to bow the knee to the Republican Administration and attempted to justify themselves in the eyes of the world by slandering the wishes of their own constituency. Had the Ordinance gone to the people directly, Virginia would long ago have occupied her true position in the front rank and lost not one spark from the altar of her glory.

The war news from Illinois and Ohio furnished our only amusement at present,¹ and the proclamation of the adored Abraham, who purposes to sacrifice the Southern Isaacs, reminds me of a 'spread eagle speech.' What a Fourth of July sensation the old gentleman could get up in the sacred retreat of Faneuil Hall. All the Government clerks here are calculating the precise time when the twenty days warning will expire,² so as to reach home. I am afraid President Davis would not be able to make his arrangements in time, as the railroad accommodations between this place and his home are of a limited character. It would be a pity if he should be left.

The lady of his Excellency arrived here on Sunday afternoon from Mobile, and was greeted by the National salute of seven guns.

The President to-day issued a call for thirty-two thousand additional troops. The requisition upon Alabama for three

¹This probably referred to early news of war preparations in those states. Reports from Illinois were more encouraging than amusing to the new government. Word of pro-southern sentiment in the "Egyptian" section of southern Illinois reached Montgomery. The *Montgomery Confederation* reported an Illinois legislator's speech against coercion of the South delivered in early February. That journal later speculated on the possibility of Egypt's secession. Quoted in *Montgomery Weekly Post*, May 1, 1861.

²On April 15, following the fall of Fort Sumter, Lincoln drafted a proclamation calling into three months service 75,000 militiamen. The proclamation also commanded the rebellion to disperse within twenty days. Montgomery newspapers shared "Sigma's" scorn at the proclamation. The *Montgomery Advertiser*, April 25, 1861, called the order a "bombastic proclamation." The *Montgomery Weekly Post*, April 24, 1861, commented, "He, Abraham Lincoln, Esq., attorney at law, and backwoods politician, general rail splitter, and flat boat mate, he commands the rebels to disperse within twenty days." The *Post* added that Lincoln was like a man sitting on the edge of the ocean telling the waves to stop.

thousand, published last Wednesday, has been responded to by 21 volunteer companies in the course of five days, and by the expiration of this week the complement will have been made. The proclamation has been similarly treated in the adjoining States, and we expect in one month's time an organized force of 40,000 Confederate troops.

Gen [Gideon] Pillow³ is in the city, and has tendered the services of six thousand Tennesseans, and offers from Kentucky, Arkansas, Virginia and other border States are daily received.

One of the fifty thousand applicants for office in the Confederate Army appears to-day in the [Montgomery] *Mail*, and proposes that the entire number tender their services as privates, assemble in Montgomery on the 25th inst. and proceed to organize into companies, battalions, regiments and divisions. This exhibits the true spirit of the people who have dared to assert their rights and mean to maintain them.

George W. Lane, the District Judge of Alabama, has been denounced as a reprobate by one of the strongest co-operation Districts in the State, and becoming suddenly patriotic, not to say immensely frightened, has resigned his commission, and volunteered as a private in the army. 'There is more joy in Heaven over one sinner that repeneth,' &c.⁴

The ten gun scows ordered by Congress are being rapidly constructed in New Orleans, and from the number of privateer-

³ Pillow, 1806-1878, was a Tennessee Democratic politician and associate of James K. Polk. He served in the Mexican War, and upon Tennessee's secession, was named senior major general of the state's militia. His Confederate service was decidedly lackluster. He fought at Belmont and following the battle quarreled with General Leonidas Polk. He was second in command at Donelson and fled the fort before surrender. Following this disaster, Pillow was unable to acquire another major command.

⁴ Lane was from the strongly Unionist Madison County in North Alabama. When Alabama seceded and the United States district judge resigned, Lincoln appointed Lane to succeed him. As Lane had a son in the Confederate cavalry, he attempted to keep his appointment secret. He did not hold any sessions, even though the county seat of Huntsville was occupied by Federal troops in the spring and summer of 1862. Lane died as a refugee in Kentucky in 1863. See Robinson, *Justice in Grey*, 167-168.

ing commissions issued lately you may expect to hear of some important captures soon.

I subjoin a paragraph from the *Advertiser* to show the truth of my yesterday's notes upon the high estimation which is here held, and though 'praise is but virtue's shadow,' it will add to that future applause of her good deeds which shall 'send scared echo to the frightened ears of tyranny.'

'... The State of South Carolina has proven herself as dis-interestedly patriotic as she has been successfully brave. She has gone to all the expense—amounting to near a million dollars—of the bombardment of Fort Sumter without drawing a dollar from the Treasury of the Confederate States and is now in full possession of the last menacing fortification on her own soil, all by the valor of her own sons. Truly has the Palmetto State illustrated the practice as well as the theory of State Rights.'

To this I add to Shakespeare's words:

'Oh, your desert speaks loud; and I should wrong it,
To lock it in the wards of covert bosom,
When it deserves, with characters of brass,
A fortified residence against the tooth of time,
And razure of oblivion.' [*Measure For Measure*]

SIGMA

Montgomery, April 22, 1861

There exists, within the range of newspaperdom, a dearth, a void which nothing can fill, except the expected session of Congress. The journals of the city teem with telegrams from the various points of interest, Northward, whilst nothing is said of our own domesticated affairs. The rigid discipline to which all the 'initiated' are subjected, and the security exercised over all those little vents from which information could ooze, leaves us in a state of suspense equivalent to nonentity. The revelations which have been made accidentally in some case[s], and intentionally in others, have made the Ministers

of State more than cautious, and I may say it is difficult for us to know even what transpired a week ago. To this condition of affairs your 'Correspondence' does not object when it considers the public welfare, but it respectfully suggests, that it is left in an aggravated state of Know-Nothingism, which is inconsistent with these day of refined liberty.

The excitement produced here by the out-sliding of 'Old Virginy,' was equal in every respect to the news from Fort Sumter upon a previous occasion of interest. There was a general congratulation over the fulfillment of those prophecies which, had been taking her out of the Union for some weeks past, and when the fact was reliably ascertained, the entire populace gave way to wild excitement. There was [sic] the usual salutations from loud mouthed cannon, the accustomed outspreading of flags, and the usual amount of liquoring up, but with reference to the latter clause, be it said with all honor to those engaged—nobody was hurt. In the evening, the largest assemblage I have ever witnessed in this city, gathered under and around the portals of the Exchange and listened to the honeyed words of eloquence from the lips of Virginia's second PATRICK HENRY, Hon. ROGER A. PRYOR.⁵ Immense bonfires illumined the streets which were thronged as on every like occasion with every class and condition of people. There are very many resident Virginians in the city, a good proportion of whom have arrived here since the formation of the Confederacy. The tide of immigration will now cease from that point, as we are at last one people.

There is a great deal of mystery connected with the declaration of independence of the Old Dominion, though not much in the action of the people subsequent to its drafting. Some here express a doubt as to her absolute and unqualified withdrawal from the Union, and fears of a Border Convention are still entertained. She has sent a Commissioner here, who faith-

⁵ Pryor, along with fellow Virginian Edmund Ruffin, was an avid secessionist. After Lincoln was inaugurated, Pryor resigned from congress and in April appeared in Charleston promising that Virginia would secede. After the bombardment he went to Montgomery. An excellent account of the entire Fort Sumter episode is W. A. Swanberg, **First Blood: The Story of Fort Sumter** (New York, 1957); also of value is Roy Meredith, **Storm Over Sumter** (New York, 1957).

fully declines to let the public know anything as yet.⁶ By way of return complimentary exchange, Vice-President STEPHENS has gone to Richmond to consult the Virginia authorities. I feel assured, however, that her members of Congress will assemble here on Monday next, and be put under the same regulations as the Texans were previous to the ratification of their Ordinance.

The military ardor still continues unabated. Offers are coming constantly from thousands of well disciplined troops from all the non-seceded Southern States. There exists a fever for volunteering under any and every circumstance; no objection is made to the Army rules except that there is no provision made for meeting the enemy speedily.

Fort Pickens, up to the time of writing, continues in *status quo*. Gen. BRAGG has proclaimed martial law in and around this well favored and interesting locality. The citizens of Warrington [a suburb of Pensacola] have been forewarned to take up their beds and walk, and strict vigilance has been kept over all doubtful personages. The Postmaster has been placed in durance vile for supplying SLEMMER with mail matter.

It is understood that troops will be withdrawn from your city as soon as Virginia calls for them, and many who have been gazing upon the blue waters of the Atlantic must soon expect to take up the march for the interior.

Judge [Andrew G.] MAGRATH⁷ arrived here on Friday, and was called upon to address a large assemblage on that evening, but declined from indisposition.

⁶ Richmond *Enquirer*, February 8, 1861, reported that "commissioners" had been sent to Montgomery from Virginia. Apparently, they were to keep the state informed on affairs in the new government.

⁷ Andrew Gordon Magrath, 1813-1896, served South Carolina before the war as a legislator and district judge. In 1860 he resigned his position and served on General Pickens' staff. In 1864 he was elected governor of South Carolina and served in that capacity until the end of the war.

We are anxiously awaiting the arrival of Hon. LOUIS T. WIGFALL,⁸ and making preparations to give him a glorious reception, worthy of the Giant of the West.

PALMETTO

Montgomery, April 28, 1861

The aspect of Montgomery at this time is anything but peaceful, and with the presence of so many troops in the Capital at once, the people are beginning to realize the fact that we are in the midst of war, as well as to feel assured that vigor and energy characterize the Administration. Within the last three days eight or ten companies of Alabama troops have been concentrated here, under orders to march at the word. Of the number, four are from Mobile—the flower of the city. None of the troops know positively where they are to operate, but every one is well aware that their destination is Virginia, and all of them are positively fighting among themselves to get there first.

As a matter of course, with so many soldiers in the city, the streets must be particularly gay and lively. At all hours of the day you hear the *rata-ta-tat* of the drum, and hear the tramp of armed men. Every train that comes in or goes out—every boat that arrives or departs from the bluff is laden with its precious freight of men and muskets. No one thinks of anything but war.

At every step you take on the side walk you encounter uniforms of every variety and every stripe. The soldiers themselves are mostly fine looking, dare-devil fellows, ready for a fight and anxious to see the face of any enemy. Most of them appear with closely shaven polls, the hair being cut as close to the skull as it is possible to do with scissors. These beautified head pieces are ornamented with old flannel bags,

⁸ Wigfall, 1816-1874, was a native of South Carolina. He gave up a stormy political career there in 1848 when he moved to Texas. He served in the United States Senate from Texas and in the Sumter crisis played a major role in the negotiations with Major Anderson. The "glorious reception" was planned as a tribute to Wigfall's actions at Charleston. He spent the rest of the war in the army and in the Confederate congress.

closed and drawn to a point at one end, with tassel dependent. The style of fatigue head-dress was introduced by one of the Mobile Companies, and in an incredibly short space of time the fever for possessing them spread from rank to rank and Company to Company, until nearly every one is now supplied. So great was the demand for it that the milliners have been kept constantly at work during forty eight hours to meet it.

During the greater portion of Saturday, the buildings occupied by the troops was [sic] a scene of boisterous mirth and active preparation. Knapsacks, arms and accoutrements were distributed to all in need of these necessities, and nothing was left undone to fit the troops out in style, as comfortable as possible. To facilitate this, four large buildings in different localities were allotted them. Besides these quarters, four of the ten full Companies were stationed in the spacious buildings at Fair Grounds, half a mile from town. Here the troops are indulged in a slight taste of camp life. Plentifully supplied with straw, beds are easily made upon the floors, while with good fat pork, camp fires and cooking utensils, wholesome food is easily attained.

Every corps stationed in this place is divided into messes, as you are aware. Each mess has its cook and bottle-washer, and the process of cooking is as much a source of amusement to the troops as it was to myself. I own I was very much amused to see great broad shouldered men, six feet high, grinding coffee, and cursing every time the mill slipped and threw the grains of Rio upon the ground. My divertisement [sic] was greatly increased when standing before one of the mess fires I saw the cook, his face beaming like the coals, the perspiration streaming down his cheeks, watching a huge fat mass of salt junk bubble up and down in the great pot. The poor fellow was evidently in as big a stew as the object of his solicitude. He pulled a watch from under his waistband and looking at it, turned his face up to Heaven, scratched his head, and mutteringly wondered 'if the d---d thing was done yet.'

By and by he concluded to ask a fellow cook how he was to tell when it was cooked. The comrade replied, "Stick a stick into it."

First Cook—‘Stick a stick into it! What’ll that do!’

Second Cook—‘Why if the thing is done the stick will go easy; if it aint done it won’t go in.’

Cook number one soon procured a pointed stick, with which he made several vigorous lunges at the white mass in the pot, but all his efforts were unavailing, and he burst out with an oath: ‘No use—the infernal thing won’t get cooked. It has been boiling for three hours this way. I believe you are hoaxing me. I’ll sen to town and ask Mrs. -----for a cooking book, to find out how long pork must be boiled before it is done.’

During my stay upon the grounds the Mobile Cadets, and Mobile Washington Light Infantry made their regular dress parade. Each of these corps number nearly or quite 100 men, all of them fine looking fellows. The first is armed with muskets, the latter with Minie rifles.⁹ In drill they are as perfect as regulars.

This morning at an early hour, all the companies quartered in the city, were marched to the Fair Grounds, in order to vote for regimental officers. The unusual sight of twelve or fourteen hundred men under arms at once, attracted a very large concourse of citizens—and there were none who did not come away delighted with the military look of the brave fellows. As a matter of course, where so many men were required to vote, the balloting occupied a considerable space of time. The men were all arranged in regular order, and by companies marched up to a champagne basket which served as the ‘ballot box.’ I believe the election resulted in the choice of Mr. [Jones M.] Withers, of Mobile, as Colonel, and Tennant Lomax, as Lieutenant Colonel.¹⁰

⁹ The “minie rifle” referred to by the author was probably the Springfield rifle musket which fired the “minie” bullet. This was a rifled weapon unlike the smoothbore musket which the Mobile Cadets evidently used.

¹⁰ Withers was born in Madison County, Alabama, in 1814. He graduated from West Point in 1835, read law in Tuscaloosa, and entered politics. He later moved to Mobile and was elected major in 1856. See Owen, **Dictionary of Alabama Biography**, IV, 1792-1793. Lomax was a South Carolinian and a graduate of Randolph Macon College. He became a lawyer in Eufaula, Alabama, and served as a captain in the Mexican War. He edited a newspaper in Columbus, Georgia, and moved to Montgomery in 1857. He served in the Pensacola campaign and was later killed at Seven Pines. See *ibid.*, 1063.

I believe it is understood that the volunteers are to leave this station on their way to Virginia, by installments of 300 on each of the two trains that leave daily, so that for at least forty-eight hours more we have a chance of indulging in military excitement. In the Churches to-day prayers were offered for the success of our arms during the war. The Rev. Dr. Manly, of the Baptist Church, laying aside his functions of preaching of the gospel, delivered an eloquent appeal, in which he justified our cause, showed it was the right and exhorted the boys now under arms, to trust in God and do their utmost for the maintenance of our principles. His efforts was [*sic*] exceedingly stirring, so much so that there was scarcely a dry eye in the assembly; all were deeply affected, even unto tears.

All the Churches in the city have resolved to hold daily union prayer meetings, in order, as Dr. Manly said, to enable those at home to fight on their knees for the same cause our friends are battling for abroad.

There is very little of interest in the city just now other than that pertaining to military affairs. The desire for taking Washington, I believe, increases every hour, and all things to my thinking seem tending to this consummation. We are in lively hope that before three months rolls by, the Government, Congress, Departments and all will have removed to the present Federal Capital.

The session of Congress, which commences tomorrow, I opine will be pregnant with interest. The President's message, it is understood, will recommend that most vigorous measures for carrying on the war; though in all probability the executive will not advise the raising of more regular troops. The number of volunteers that fill up the army of each State will preclude the necessity of regular forces in times of war, and in peace they are too dangerous to be thought useful in great bodies.

QUOD

Montgomery, May 1, 1861

The news from Virginia, from Washington, and from the Northern States generally, continues to excite public attention

to an extraordinary extent. Everyone is on the *qui vive* to know what effect the war news will have upon our Government, as though, as usual, we are kept in the profundity of ignorance, and reduced to the necessity of satisfying ourselves in vain conjectures.

On the one hand we hear that Lincoln has raised a hundred thousand troops in the North, which he intends to send to Montgomery to capture us all, and hang us up as traitors to scare the crows in the corn fields. We are also gravely informed that these valiant sons of the land of wooden nutmegs, intend to capture, en route, the Southern cities—Baltimore, Richmond, Charleston, Augusta, &c., &c.

On the other hand, we are put in mortal dread of an additional force of one hundred thousand Hoosiers, who are to take us in the rear, and overrun our lands like the freshets of their native rivers. The old ladies and children are terribly agitated by these enormous threats, and everything that we can do will scarcely suffice to comfort them. Among all other classes, however, the greatest good humor prevails, and on the part of the men the only desire is that four hundred thousand men will attempt the proposed invasion, instead of the two hundred thousand which menace us.

Among the members of the Cabinet yesterday I noticed a peculiarly happy vain, [*sic*] and although I am not aware of the cause of merriment, I am yet disposed to think it was created by the boastful threats of the Lincolmites, at whose suggestion we are commanded to "throw down our arms and go to our homes within twenty days, without the customary three days of grace."

It is generally believed, I think, among all circles here, that the Provisional Capital of the Confederate States will be removed to Richmond. The removal, however, cannot be consummated until after Virginia has actually, and in fact, seceded by the popular majority of her citizens. As soon as the vote of the people has declared the Old Dominion out of the Federal Union, I am sure the government will be removed to Richmond.

In view of the pressure upon the border States, and the necessity for speedy information of the movements of our enemy, Richmond is the most desirable location for the seat of our government. Maryland has already sent to Virginia, as I learn this morning by a private dispatch, for aid and succor against the passage of troops over her soil, to join the Federal forces at Washington. The old Commonwealth is embarrassed with her own cares, and if our Confederate Government was located within her borders, the aid asked by Maryland could be afforded with ease. As it is, Virginia will be unable to give assistance, and delays will occur before proper application can reach the city.

While there is a strong party in Congress here favorable to speedy removal to Richmond, there are very many opposed to it, for these reasons. In the first place, the time occupied in removing archives, &c, &c., will be lost. Liability to interruption in peaceful deliberations is another fear consequent upon a departure hence.

On the converse, we have as an advantage favoring a change, the moral effect which a consummation of the act will give. We will go to meet, rather than retreat from the enemy, and above all this, the fact that our seat of government is located within their limits, will tend greatly to conciliate the Border States.

I am reliably informed that the President favors the project, though the Secretary of War oppose it. I am also told that a large majority of the Congress, as well as the Cabinet, favors the idea.

The question now raised here, beyond a doubt, is not whether we should simply remain on the defensive, but whether we should not at once assume the position of aggressors. "Transgress the borders," is the motto of a large portion of the Congress, though very many are disposed to halt. The more determined, however, entertain no idea of holding back for aggressive steps by Lincoln. The only question they raise is as to the policy of attacking Washington at once, or letting it remain for the moment, and concentrating all our forces upon

Philadelphia. Those who favor the latter course, urge these reasons, and I must own they are cogent: In the first place, they say that notwithstanding the fact that Washington may be in an admirable state of defence, still the troops defending it have enlisted but for three months. Many of them, particularly the New York Regiments, are disaffected, and after their term of enlistment expires, they will retire and go home. Provisions are scarce, and the city is completely surrounded by enemies, so that after what food now on hand is consumed, the place will become as easy prey, and its capture will be rendered doubly sure when we have a force not only South of it, but to the Northward.

Though the Congress has done very little or nothing at all, as yet in open session, I am assured that the usual diligence and energy has characterized its secret sessions. Committees to deliberate upon suggestions thrown out by the President in his public and secret messages, have been appointed, and, in some instances, have already reported back to the Congress practicable methods whereby to realize the views of his Excellency, the Executive. I learn that active measures have been taken to raise the one hundred thousand volunteers recommended by the President, as well as to raise five millions more of money, though I cannot say that my information is correct.

News was received in this city yesterday, by a member of the Texas delegation, that the gallant Texas, near Indianola, has succeeded, by a nice piece of stratagem, in capturing the whole regiment of United States mercenaries.¹¹

I have every reason to believe that the intelligence is correct, though, as you are aware, it takes a long time to ascertain the truthfulness of any news from Texas.

David H. Todd,¹² Esq, of Kentucky, brother-in-law to

¹¹Indianola, an important Texas port city, was taken by Federal troops in April 1861. By the end of the month Texas Confederates under Colonel Earl Van Dorn captured 450 federals there. The federals were paroled by Van Dorn. **Official Records of the War of the Rebellion Union and Confederate Armies**, Ser 1, I, 632-633.

¹²Although her eldest brother and half-sister were loyal to the Union, the remainder of Mary Todd Lincoln's family joined the Confederacy. Her brother George and her three half-brothers Samuel, David H., and Alexander joined the Confederate army. Her three half-sisters were the wives of Confederate Officers. See Carl Sandburg, **Abraham Lincoln The War Years**, I (New York, 1947), 270.

Lincoln, has received an appointment as First Lieutenant in the Confederate Army. Mr. Todd's sympathies are, it is said, wholly with the South, and, as I am informed, he came hither highly recommended, and is considered eminently trustworthy.

The Hon. Charles L. Scott,¹³ a member of the United States Congress from California, who has been here for several days past, left the city yesterday to join the Magnolia Cadets, a company from Selma, Ala. He enters the ranks as a private to fight for the South, and goes forth the more willingly I take it because he is a native of Virginia.

A large number of the ladies of our city have organized a society, called 'The Ladies' Aid Association of Montgomery.' The object of the Association is to assist the State in furnishing its patriotic soldiers with whatever may be necessary to their safety and comfort, and which it may properly fall within the province of woman to provide. Having completed their organization, they have tendered their services to the Governor, and have been accepted by him.

It was expected yesterday that the Hon. Alex H. Stephens would arrive in the Capital on return from his mission to the Commonwealth of Virginia. Quite a number of citizens gathered about the depot in expectation of the arrival, and a serenade was prepared to greet the distinguished gentleman. Some disappointment was experienced when it was ascertained that the train did not bring the Vice-President, and it was only this morning that it became generally known that the Vice-President had stopped over at his home in Crawfordville, G[a]., detained by sickness, consequent upon the fatigues of his journey to the Old Dominion. It is, however, gratifying to state that Mr. Stephens' indisposition is not serious, and that he will be able to resume the travel hither within two or three days at most.

Before I close my letter, I should inform you that I have made ample arrangements, by the courtesy of [Mr.] E. S.

¹³Scott, 1827-1829, was a native of Virginia who moved to California during the 1849 gold rush. He served as a Democrat in the House of Representatives from 1857 to 1861. With the outbreak of war, Scott joined the Confederate army serving as a major in the 4th Alabama Infantry. He was wounded at the first battle of Bull Run. See **Biographical Directory of Congress**, 1501.

Smith, agent of Adams' Southern Express,¹⁴ for the speedy and safe transmission of any written matter I shall deem advisable to send you for the information of your readers. The facilities afforded to newspaper writers attendant upon the sittings of Congress, by these gentlemen, I know are not only duly appreciated by ourselves, but by the public whom we address. . . .

QUOD

Montgomery, May 1, 1861

The re-opening of Congress has again given rise to that influx of visitors so notably attendant upon occasions of similar interest; many of whom are attracted hither by the natural magnetic influence of curiosity, while others seize the opportunity of advancing their respective claims upon the attention and patronage of the members. Up to the present time, all business appears to have been paralyzed by the absence of purchasers and the continuance of the great military preparations which have been made during the past week. At least one tenth of the native population of the city have buckled on their armor and responded to the call of Virginia, and a majority of those who have been left behind are indulging in nocturnal amusements according to Hardee.¹⁵ One cannot cross a street or turn a corner without encountering a Zouave or a Dragoon, clad in the emblazonry of war, and infusing the spirit of Mars into the most peaceful temperments. Even the juveniles are more accustomed to the clash of arms than the ringing of pan-spoons, and evince a disposition to fight earlier than to "travel" unaided.

¹⁴The Adams' Southern Express Company had offices in several southern cities and was lauded constantly by southern newspapers for its aid in transmitting the news. See *Montgomery Weekly Post*, March 5, 1861.

¹⁵"Palmetto's" "nocturnal amusements" were military exercises done on advice of one of the most popular military works of the time, *Tactics*, by William J. Hardee. Both armies used the volume, and, according to one authority, "officers, if diligent, managed to keep just one or two jumps ahead of the men in the mastery of [Winfield] Scott's or Hardee's *Tactics*." See Fred A. Shannon, *The Organization and Administration of the Union Army, 1861-1865*, I (Cleveland, 1928), 162, 167. Hardee served in the Confederate army, rising to Lieutenant General in 1862. He exercised several important commands in the western theatre.

Everybody and everything seems converted into an implement of war, and one grows dubious at times whether an approaching object will prove on acquaintance to be a friend or a perpendicular Danigren [*sic*] gun.¹⁶

At least one thousand men have volunteered for the old "Mother of Statesmen" from this locality, and twice as many more are ready, whenever called. The neighboring counties have furnished their quotas, that of Mobile particularly deserving mention.

The troops of Infantry from this city (which a short time ago telegraphed to Abraham to request "three days of grace") are composed of the elite, and drawn from the wealthiest and most refined circles of society. They have nothing in their appearance to invite the suspicion of "black sheep." Every face wears the trace of intelligence, patriotism and courage. The style of dress adopted by them is what worn by the French in the Crimean war—the gaudy cap lending an air of grace and ease to the *tout ensemble* of their apparel.

With regard to the Calvary service, I am constrained to say that Alabama has preference and advantage over Carolina. There is a great disposition towards this arm of the service attributable, in some measure, perhaps, to the scattered arrangement of the citizens and the fondness for the horse engendered by the life of a planter.

Alabama furnishes altogether two thousand men for Virginia, and the force raised in conjunction with the other States will enable the President to concentrate twenty-five thousand men at Lynchburg and Richmond. The entire army will probably be employed in the surroundings of Washington City, and be prepared in the course of two weeks to demand the evacuation by that sombre individual who now desires our flight in "twenty days."

¹⁶This weapon was invented by John A. Dahlgren. It was used chiefly in naval action. Dahlgren guns were either 9, 11, 15, or 20 inch pieces. The gun's best known feature was its shape, bulbular at the breech, smaller toward the muzzle. See J. G. Benton, **Ordnance and Gunnery** (New York, 1883).

The ladies of Montgomery have organaized an "Aid Association," and assemble daily to work for an hour and a half, in making uniforms and equipping their husbands, sons and brothers. I believe the movement originates with the venerable Basil M. Manly, whose pen and voice have ever been raised in the cause of Southern Rights, and whose own right arm, though enfeebled by age, would not disdain to wield the sword in defense of honor and justice. His influence for good here is only equalled by the moral effect produced by his associations, pastoral and otherwise, in your own city.

The Rail Road Convention which assembled in this city on Friday last, in response to a proposition of Postmaster-General Reagan, to consult upon the subject of the transportation of mails, has adjourned. In this body the representatives of thirty-one roads, extending a distance of four thousand three hundred and seventy-six miles, and possessing a funded capital of one hundred and seven million six hundred and seventy thousand dollars, were present, and participated in the proceedings. The greatest unanimity and liberality characterized the proceedings of this meeting. They have agreed to undertake the mail service at the rate of one hundred and fifty dollars a mile for daily service, and distances proportioned to compensation. The payments for such service to be made in Confederate States Bonds. In addition to this, they have agreed to transport troops at the rate of two cent per mile for each man, and arms, munitions of war and military baggage, at one-half the usual rate charged.¹⁷

The commendable liberality which this arrangement displays is worthy of notice by all who are interested in rail roads, and evinces that our bodies corporate are not so affected by the soothing influences of the Almighty Dollar as are similar institutions North of Mason and Dixon's line. . . .

A great disposition to remove the Capital to the City of Richmond prevails among all classes here. Even to the civilians

¹⁷Reagan, *Memoirs*, 133-134, noted that all of the southern railroads with one or two exceptions were represented at the convention. The result of the negotiations was that "...the cost of the services was greatly reduced without seriously impairing its usefulness." Montgomery *Weekly Confederation*, May 3, contains an account of the meeting.

who have been cherishing the fond hopes of localizing the seat of Government within their own limits, are now eager to bestow the honor upon Virginia. A great many of the members of Congress are afflicted in the same way, but no action will, of course be taken until Virginia comes squarely into the field, and her Congressmen can vote upon the change. The advantages which Richmond possesses over Montgomery are too numerous to mention, but the great difficulty is the risk of rushing into the physiognomy of Uncle Abe, after the twenty days shall have expired. May it not be a rash exposure—"Lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil," &c.

No news as yet from Pensacola, but I opine that there will be some *pickens* down there ere long, and the inhabitants of certain military hospital will be slimmer.¹⁸ Were I permitted to advise with his Excellency Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, I would recommend that they follow the New York fashion of May 1st and "move out."

PALMETTO

Montgomery, May 4, 1861

The Congress in secret session to-day passed an Act providing for a Regiment of Zouaves in the Army of the Confederate States. The Act ordains that one Regiment of Zouaves, consisting of one Colonel, one Lieutenant-Colonel, one Major and ten Companies, shall be added to the military establishment of the Confederate States. Each Company shall have one Captain, two Lieutenants, one Sergeant-Major, one Quartermaster, four Sergeants, eight Corporals and ninety Privates; to the Regiment there shall also be attached one Adjutant and Quartermaster, to be selected from the Lieutenants. The officers' pay shall be identical with that of officers of Infantry, same in rank, and the allowances shall also be the same. The privates will receive eleven dollars per month. Sergeants seventeen and Corporals thirteen dollars. No uniform is prescribed, though it is understood that the genuine Turco dres will be established.¹⁹

¹⁸"Palmetto's" play on words is a dire forecast of doom for Lt. Adam Slemmer and the Pickens garrison.

¹⁹Typical Zouave dress included brightly colored uniforms that consisted of baggy trousers, gaiters, short jackets, and turbans or fezzes.

The Congress also passed a resolution extending the provisions of a resolution adopted on the 4th March last, relating to patents, so as to allow the citizen of all the slaveholding States, whether in or out of the Confederacy, to file caveats with the Attorney-General, and secure themselves in the enjoyment of their patent rights on the same footing with our own inventors.

The Congress, I am told has a Bill under consideration relative to the telegraph lines within the limits of the Confederates. The Bill, I understand, contemplates the execution of an idea that has long forced itself upon every careful purpose, viz. to place the telegraph under the superintendence of the Government, and make all the employees Government officials. Some such precaution as this is absolutely requisite in these times of war and uncertainty. Had the wires been under surveillance six month ago, our people would not have been subject to the numerous alarms occasioned by the lying press of New York and other Abolition communities.

At the present time it seems to be the universal opinion, that Congress will shortly—that is, within three weeks—remove to Richmond. I am reliably informed that the question has been raised in Congress, and that the project received a large majority of votes.

Up to seven o'clock this evening the Richmond Delegates had not arrived in this city. When they do come, it is expected they will invite the Congress to remove to Richmond, and that the invitation will be accepted, after the people of Virginia have ratified their Ordinance of Secession.

In open session to-day, the Congress did no more than meet, hear prayers, and then go into secret session.

The 'twenty days' allowed us by Lincoln, for dispersing and throwing down our arms, expire to-morrow. I saw the President, Vice-President and Secretaries to-day, but I do not think they look scared, nor do they seem inclined to obey Mr. Abe. As for the people, they laugh and exhibit their bayonets.

The Alabama and Florida Rail Road, connecting Montgomery with Pensacola, has been finished, and we learn that the cars came through from Pensacola for the first time yesterday.

The negroes who had been sent to aid in finishing this road, from the Montgomery and Eufaula Road and the Montgomery and Decatur Road, have returned, we believe.

SPRITE

Montgomery, May 6, 1861

In my letter of Saturday I gave it as the generally received opinion that the bombardment of Fort Pickens would be commenced within a few weeks, at farthest. Some days ago I was inclined to believe that the siege at Washington would be raised, and the Capitol of the Federal Government would be reduced, before any attempt was made at Pensacola Harbor. A slight degree of reflection upon the apparent policy of our energetic President, however, induces me to doubt the truthfulness of my first conjecture, and I shall endeavor to give you my reasons as briefly as possible, leaving it entirely with your readers to accept or reject them, as in their better judgment they may determine.

I admit that the immense force which is being concentrated upon the border looks like the vigorous commencement of a speedy conflict, but the enemy is equally on the alert, and is throwing about himself all the defences that military art can devise, or lavish expenditure execute. The public buildings of Washington have been converted into formidable citadels, the luxuriously furnished and highly decorated apartments of the Capitol, are abandoned to the filth of a horde of vandals, a fact which surely indicates the *dernier resort*, and a determination to hold or to destroy.²⁰

In view, therefore, of the axiom for our *success*, 'defeat in the commencement is fatal.' It is the policy of this government

²⁰Troops were quartered in the Capitol Rotunda, in the patent office, and other buildings. General Winfield Scott, pressed to put forward a plan of defense, made the Treasury his citadel. See Leech, **Reville in Washington**, 65.

to restrain the ardor of our soldiers for a reason, and, while to all the world, apparently only intent upon the gratification of popular desire, it will consummate a sudden *coup d'etat*, which will, besides flushing our arms with victory, demonstrate to our enemy that we are determined to conquer, and that our leaders are men of military learning.

I think Mr. Davis understands the value of 'first success,' and in order that the ardor of the people may not be dampened and the prospects of our cause may not be injured, he will prove wary and strategic in the beginning. He knows that all the country is looking towards the Federal Capital as the point from whence the next outburst will come. He appears to dwell upon no other movements than those directed towards that quarter, but under all, silently and vigorously, he is maneuvering for effect at Pensacola. Here, in my judgment, he is gathering all his energies for a brilliant effort. Under cover of the Washington movement he is laboring at Pensacola, and I forewarn you the result will be terrible.

The enemy, with that incomprehensible blindness, madness and folly which has characterized all his acts from the very inception of our troubles, deceives himself under a sense of security. The press of the North, perverting and falsifying everything, continues to circulate the most mendacious reports, and most unblushing lies. Not content with making the people believe that Pickens is impregnable, they represent our soldiers to be utterly demoralized, and to be deserting by scores. They gravely assure their readers that we are provided with no heavy guns, and are wholly incapable of making the wished for capture by escalade or otherwise.²¹ Not only do they rely upon these statements as true, but they believe with as much implicit reliances that business is prostrate, that the people are murmuring, that free speech is throttled, that press is gagged, and, in a word, that anarchy consumes our very vitals.

²¹"JEFF. DAVIS lacks arms, lacks provisions, lacks, money," announced the New York **Times**, May 2, 1861. The New York **Daily Tribune**, May 3, 1861, added, "it may safely be assumed that nothing but extraordinary mismanagement, or extraordinary ill-luck, can prevent the complete success of the United States in the coming contest." It was to statements such as these that "Quod" objected.

It is hardly necessary for me to deny much less to attempt to refute these charges in order to convince you of their damnable mendacity, yet for the sake of truth, which has been so shamefully murdered, I will endeavor to make a few statements of facts.

Far then, from being discouraged, and in despair of taking Fort Pickens, Gen. Bragg, I am reliably informed, expresses every confidence in his ability to undertake a successful bombardment when he is fully ready to act. The railroad direct from this point to the harbor of Pensacola has been completed, so that within fourteen hours, or less, any quantity of men and munitions of war can be transported from the interior of Alabama or Georgia. Each day I see car loads upon car loads of huge mortars and columbiad guns,²² *en route* for this destination. Companies of soldiers daily pass through for the same point. The latest advices from the Confederate Congress report the present force to be in the neighborhood of nine thousand—and that the only restlessness or disobedience among the men is created by delay in the attack. Opposed to these nine thousand volunteers, are nine hundred Regular United States troops, closely confined within the damp walls of a fort.

Thus, you see, that whilst the Government seems solely occupied with the current of events in Virginia and on the border, it is all the while active at this point of contention. The President has been cautious not to attempt the reduction of the fortress until sure that victory will be the result. I am sure he and all his officers now feel confident that the time has come, and I am equally certain that the first blow will be stricken here—unless, perhaps, the army of Lincoln shall previously invade Virginia. In this case Pickens will be overlooked for the moment, and operations will commence at once on the borders. In every other case, I believe it will be at Pensacola that the first gun is fired.

QUOD

²²The columbiad cannon was developed for the War of 1812, and by the Civil War was in wide use in the coast artillery. Produced in calibers of 8, 10, and 15 inches, the columbiad was a smoothbore that fired up to 5,700 yards. Rifled columbiads were also developed during the war.

Montgomery, May 1, 1861

Congress still conducts its transactions *sub rosa*. I begin to fear that the reportorial corps, who, like lively crickets, are chirping in and around, will meet with the same reception as they did at the last session. Only now and then, the veil is uplifted, and, Tarantula like, they observe only the approach of 'forbidden fruits,' when down goes the curtain, and dejected they stroll elsewhere to pick up the crumbs. But let no one presume that the members are regaling themselves, like Sons of Malta, with buncombe refreshments; the revelations of every day confirm a belief to the contrary. A great work lies before the body, and time is requisite for its perfect development and thorough performance.

It is conceded that ere the relics of the United States Congress assemble in Washington, fourteen States will be represented here. We have encouraging daily reports of the progress of the Revolution in all the Border States, and the constant repetition of offers for the volunteer service emanating from them, confirms the opinion entertained of the true condition of political sentiment there existing. Those who are well informed entertain serious doubts as to the position to be assumed by Maryland. The presence of an overwhelming Republican force in and around her confines will, it is thought, seriously endanger the result of any election, should the people decide upon calling a Convention. The genuine spirit of secession may be compelled to succumb under the overwhelming pressure of intimidation and the danger to which the State would be exposed by evincing a favorable disposition to the Southern Confederacy.²³

The passage of an Ordinance by the Tennessee Legislature manifests the effect of revolutionizing the State, and the unwillingness of the people to be delayed in action by the tardiness

²³Eastern Maryland was pro-southern while the small farmer Western section supported the Union. Anti-secession Governor Thomas H. Hicks refused to call a convention in the early part of the crisis, although the state legislature meeting at Frederick on May 10 recommended recognizing the independence of the Confederacy. Lincoln took strong action to hold Maryland and many pro-southern sympathizers were unceremoniously, and perhaps illegally, jailed. The measures worked and Maryland remained in the Union, although sentiment in Eastern Maryland continued to be strong for the South. See Clement Eaton, *A History of The Southern Confederacy* (New York, 1954), 36-38.

of a Convention, while Kentucky expressly refuses to furnish any quota of troops to the Lincoln dynasty. Much doubt prevails about the true position of Governor [Beriah] Magoffin, which is predicated of his proclamation ordering an election for Congress, but be it remembered that, in strict conformity to State law he is obliged by the requisitions of conscience and constituted authority, to await action until the people have overcome the restraints imposed by the Constitution, and have clearly exhibited a desire for a new order of things. Meanwhile he has countenanced directly the emigration of thousands of troops desiring to sacrifice life and property in the maintenance of *our* liberties. Kentucky is too closely allied in interest to Virginia to permit hesitancy much longer.²⁴ Missouri²⁵ we fear will suffer under the same embarrassment as Maryland, while Arkansas has already thrown our banner to the breeze, and will in five days be represented upon the floor of the Montgomery Congress.²⁶

It is asked why has no action been taken at Pensacola, and why stand we here idle any longer? I take it that the attention of his Excellency is directed to Virginia, and it is desirable that her fair fields having been purified from the loathsome contact of Northern vassals, we must next strive to remove

²⁴Kentucky hoped to steer a moderate course and despite pro-southern Governor Magoffin's efforts, refused to call a convention. Yet Magoffin declined to furnish troops to the Lincoln administration. Lincoln played a skillful diplomatic hand in regard to the state and was able to hold it in the Union. Like other border states, Kentucky furnished a large number of soldiers to the Confederate government. Many of these, like Simon Bolivar Buckner, John B. Hood, and Albert Sidney Johnston, became major military figures. See E. Merton Coulter, **The Civil War and Readjustment in Kentucky** (Chapel Hill, 1926), especially chapters I-XI.

²⁵As another border state, Missouri had divided loyalties. A pro-southern legislature called a February convention that met in Unionist Saint Louis. The convention adjourned in March without making a decision. Secessionist Governor Claiborne F. Jackson refused Lincoln's call for troops. The opponents of secession, led by Congressman Francis Blair, Jr., Nathaniel Lyon, and Hamilton R. Gamble were able to hold Missouri in the Union. Yet in that state two governments operated, there was guerrilla warfare, and many Missourians fought for the Confederacy. See Eaton, **History of the Confederacy**, 38-39; and Walter Harrington Ryle, **Missouri: Union or Secession** (Nashville, 1931).

²⁶Although Arkansas' southern sympathies were hardly questioned, there were many moderates in the state. Not until after the attack on Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call for volunteers did the state secede. The vote was 69 to 1; the lone dissenter was Isaac Murphy, a rugged frontiersman. See John Gould Fletcher, **Arkansas** (Chapel Hill, 1947), 144-148.

the incubus from her sister Mary. No imperative necessity exists for the clearance and occupation of Pickens, as the approaching summer and its concomitants will effect more in that quarter than the best invented specimens of ordinance. The presence of a sufficient Confederate force will obviate any chance of effecting a landing, while the remainder of the available force of the army is being provisioned and transported to the soil of 'Old Virginny.'

The issue of letters of marque and reprisal which has so strongly affected the nerves of our cold-blooded neighbors, will provide a formidable navy for our harbor and sea coast defences until the ten steam boats now under construction in New Orleans, can be completed and made ready for action.²⁷ We may then find another method of razing Pickens besides the ordinary process of cannonizing. Great disaffection already exists among the garrison stationed there, and if opportunity presents itself, we believe that the valorous nine hundred will reverse arms and fight under the tri-color instead of the Star Spangled Banner. 'Tis . . . a consummation devoutly to be wished for.'

Two of the Virginia Commissioners, Messrs. S. W. Brockenborough and Walter R. Staples, having presented themselves this morning, were introduced to Congress and requested to assume seats upon the floor. They bore with them a copy of the Ordinance of Secession, and the Convention agreed upon between the Confederacy and the State. Immediately after Congress went into secret session, and we have subsequently ascertained that Virginia was fully represented in Congress henceforth on the terms that were prescribed to Texas, previous to the ratification of her Ordinance. No other business of any consequence was transacted today.²⁸

We have just fired the National salute of seven guns in honor of Arkansas, and expect to expend a few more cartridges soon upon North Carolina and Tennessee.

²⁷Early Confederate efforts to either construct or purchase a navy are well discussed in Durkin, **Mallory**, 130-188. See also the older J. T. Scharf, **History of the Confederate States Navy** (New York, 1887).

²⁸The other delegates elected by the Virginia convention were Robert M. T. Hunter, William C. Rives, and Gideon D. Camden. Hunter arrived at Montgomery on May 10 and Rives on May 13. See **Journal of the Confederate Congress**, I, 205, 214.

The ladies are actively engaged in making uniforms, sand bags, and other material for the prosecution of the war. On Saturday last it was announced that such bags would be very desirable in the neighborhood of Pensacola, and by Monday five thousand were completed; thanks to the voluntary offerings of the dear ladies. Every Monday a prayer meeting, in which all denominations unite, is held in one of the churches, for the purpose of offering up prayers to the Almighty for our success in arms, and the happy termination of the conflict. It was agreed that the ringing of the bells on any other day than that specified would be an indication of a conflict of arms, and all christians are exhorted to assemble forthwith and join in petitions for success.

To-day seems really eventful. My ink is not dried from writing of the salute to Arkansas, and I am authoritatively informed that Tennessee has passed the Ordinance, and our 'Old Secession' will again ring her praises, ere the setting sun shall shadow the folds of the Confederate Flag, which plays so gracefully over the turrets of the Government Buildings.

There are very many distinguished visitors in the city at present, among whom I find General [P. G. T.] Beauregard, William H. Russell, of the *London Times*, Major [Gaspart] Tochman,²⁹ a grandson of Kosciusko, and one who has acquired great reputation in the Polish struggle. He has long been a prominent practitioner of law in the District of Columbia, and has renounced a lucrative pursuit to tender his services, in a military capacity, to the Confederacy...

PALMETTO

Montgomery, May 8, 1861

In the Congress, open session this noon, the President caused to be read a telegram from D. P. HILL,³⁰ Commissioner of

²⁹Tochman had participated in the Polish revolt of 1830. He came to America, was naturalized in 1841, and practiced law in Washington and Virginia. He received permission in May 1861, to raise two regiments to be called the Polish Brigade. It proved to be a polyglot of nationalities, mostly Irish, and at best, less than successful. See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 100-101, 160-164.

³⁰*Journal of the Confederate Congress*, I, 196. Hill had been a member of the Georgia Senate, the Georgia secession convention, and during the war served in the Georgia House. See Percy Scott Flippin, *Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia State Rights Unionist* (Richmond, 1931), 187.

Georgia to Arkansas, dated at Little Rock, May 7, in which that gentleman officially announces to this Government the fact that 'Arkansas has this day passed an unconditional Ordinance of Secession by a unanimous vote, and has accepted all the propositions advanced by the Government of the Confederate States of America.'

Mr. [Jackson] MORTON, of Florida, introduced a resolution authorizing the Committee on Naval Affairs to inquire and report as to the expediency of appointing Chaplains in the Navy of the Confederate States of America, which was adopted.

Mr. [William B.] OCHILTREE [of Texas] introduced a Bill to provide compensation for the disbursing officers of the Executive Departments of the Confederate States of America.

Mr. CONRAD, having a claim against the Congress which a gentleman desired him to present, asked that the Chair authorize and appoint a Committee to consist of three members to constitute a Committee of Claims. Agreed to, and Congress went into secret session.

Two of the Virginia Delegates, Messrs. BROCKENBOROUGH and STAPLES, were present in their seats this morning, when their State was called on the roll for the first time. Their colleagues are expected to-night. I understand that Mr. STEPHENS introduced the Bill before Congress admitting Virginia to the Confederacy.

The influx of volunteers into the city from the extreme Southern portion of the Confederacy is upwards of fifteen hundred soldiers encamped in and about the city. Large numbers of troops also continue to pass directly through, without stopping on their way to Pensacola.

Intelligence of the movements of our Government is quite as inaccessible as ordinary, and I do not pretend to send you anything beyond the few items that reach you over the wires.

There are several rumors afloat in the city, but placing no reliance in them I shall do no more than report their purport. The first has it that the steamer Wm. Bageley, from New

Orleans bound to Montgomery, has been captured. 2d. That the steamer, Dick Keys [*sic*] . . . bound to Pensacola, was fired into yesterday.⁸¹

Your readers will no doubt be gratified to learn that within a few months they may have an opportunity of becoming the possessors of lithograph copies of the Constitution of the Confederate States, with facsimilies of the signatures of the Deputies of Congress, attached thereto. I understand that our mutual friend, Hooper, Secretary of the Congress, intends to publish the document in this form. He has already taken the first steps towards the accomplishment of his design, having secured the services of a Baltimore lithographer to execute it. Judging by the well known energy and business tact of 'Simon,' I conclude the project will be successful, and will bring with its consummation a just reward.

SPRITE

⁸¹On May 8 Secretary of War Walker received a telegram informing him of the capture of the **Dick Keyes** by the Union fleet. Taken at the same time was the steamer **Henry Lewis**. The **Wm. Bageley** reported by "Sprite" was not involved and was not taken until July 1863. **Official Records Navies**, Ser 1, XVI, 820; Ser 1, XVII, 504-512.

CHAPTER V

ON TO RICHMOND

When Congress adjourned on May 22, the first phase of Confederate history came to a close. The capital was removed to Richmond, and Congress opened sessions there on July 20, 1861. Alabama did not give up the seat of government without a struggle, and only after a bitter fight did Richmond win out. Politicians and administrative employees departed on trains and steamboats and the government archives were packed for shipping. Montgomery became once more a city of the interior, removed from the main scenes of military action. The city did not fall to federal forces until April 1865. If the Confederate government's stay at Montgomery had been brief, its influence proved enduring.

Montgomery, May 9, 1861

Kunopolis [Curnopolis] remains as dull, as devoid of interest, as dusty and as hot as ever. We have, it is true, plenty of fierce looking volunteers, with red, blue, gray, and green coats, jackets and blouses. Tri-colored bags, and red and orange adorn the heads of the soldiers, and knives and revolvers threaten and look ferocious, yet within the city there is not the least sign of discipline, restraint, or alarm. The soldier boys chat with the ladies and drink juleps with the men, but they are far from being burdened with the military. Unlike Washington, the seat of LINCOLN'S Government, we have none of the rigidity of military rule or restraint.¹ So perfectly secure are we in our

¹ Washington, because of its proximity to the slave states, was heavily guarded. Militia squads were on duty nightly at public buildings and on the bridges leading into Virginia. After Lincoln's call for volunteers, Washington became the major staging area in the Eastern Theatre. Although most northerners were determined to hold the capital at all costs, some agreed with "Sprite's" criticism of the military mood in the city. John A. Logan, Illinois congressman and 1861 moderate, wrote of his disgust at the sight of soldiers everywhere. He wrote his wife, "a reign of terror exists here to a terrible extent, and a man can not express their [sic] sentiments against this war without being scoffed and hissed." John A. Logan to Mary Logan, July 6, 1861, John A. Logan Mss., Library of Congress. See also Leech, *Reville in Washington*, 41, 54-55.

little capital, that a sentry on duty would be an interesting novelty. The police even seem to be as scarce as June apples, at this time, for I have witnessed several fights in which nobody was badly hurt, and in which no guardians of the peace were called upon to exercise the functions of DOGBERRY.² I think, in fine, I would not be far from the right if I were to give you my 'say so' for it, that the only causes of alarm we ever experience is from the infernal legions of dogs that beset the pedestrian at every turn. I vow, that if a horde of beggars were [*sic*] added to the population of this interesting village—and if the streets could be made narrower and dirtier, instead of dustier, I should fancy myself in Constantinople. You have scarcely an idea how very troublesome it is to walk at night, and how difficult it is to sleep for the brutes that yelp and bark and growl and bite.

Thank heaven it has at last been determined that the President and Congress are to remove to Richmond as soon as the Old Dominion is declared out of the Union. I understand that it is positively decided that the Congress will remove as soon as this event occurs.

The number of office hunters, particularly those in search of military appointment, continues to increase rather than diminish, and I understand it is with a view to get rid of this trouble, that the seat of government will be removed to Virginia (?)

The bonds of the Confederate States for the \$15,000,000, I understand, will not be issued yet for at least five months. In all there are some 100,000 bonds, each with 21 coupons. These have been struck off, and are now being signed, but it is computed that in order to perform this herculean labor it would take one man at least 1500 days—doing nothing but signing his name. The punishment, if inflicted upon a single individual, would be unbearable. To reduce the labor, therefore, five poor devils are doomed for as many months to amuse themselves in scribbling autographs . . .

SPRITE

² "Dogberry" was the comic constable in Shakespeare's **Much Ado About Nothing**.

Montgomery, May 11, 1861

The principal rumor upon the streets to-day has it that Congress decided in secret session not to remove the seat of the Provisional Government from this locality. The report has been confirmed in a very reliable quarter, in my hearing, and I almost feel positive in asserting that the question has been decided against Virginia, notwithstanding vigorous efforts that have been made to push into Richmond with all haste. The action by the Congress deals a fearful blow to the hopes of Virginians here, some of whom, I know, advocated the measure with great vehemence, simply because it would conciliate the disaffected population of the Old Dominion, and would tend to draw the border States into closer alliance with us. The opposition to removing, however, were the most terrified set of mortals you ever saw until their strength had been measured in a test vote yesterday. They saw nothing in the project but an advance towards re-construction, and, seriously, I do not know but there was some foundation for fears of this kind. However, for the present, they are quieted.

It is also rumored that the Congress has invited President Davis to take the field; but whether this is so or not, I am unable to say. If his Excellency should determine to accept an invitation of this kind, when tendered, it will serve greatly to quiet the agitation everywhere felt, and give confidence to the whole people.

It is computed that at present there are something like 2,000 volunteers encamped here beyond the city limits. Though their detination is not positively known, it is generally understood that they are intended for service at Pensacola, to guard the coasts, act as a reserve, and repel invasion from the sea. The force is to be increased to 5,000. The entire body is well disciplined, and still undergoes vigorous training. The encampment is the daily resort of thousands of citizens.

From the great preparation in the Medical Bureau, I am inclined to think a speedy attack is premeditated. Surgeons seem to be in demand, and instruments and medicines more so. Each day several disciples of Galen are dispatched with their saws

and tourniquets to the scene, and nearly all of them on leaving have been assured that they will soon have 'somebody that is hurt' to attend to.

SPRITE

Montgomery, May 13, 1861

Since noon I learn from good authority that the Congress will certainly adjourn within seven or eight days at furthest, to meet in July next at Richmond. The precise day is not given upon which to reassemble in Virginia; and I am also assured that the month is not positively fixed, though the majority seem inclined to favor July rather than June, as has been proposed.

The reason assigned for an adjournment is, that the moral effect upon Maryland will be good, and the presence of the President so much desired in the Old Dominion, will inspire the people of the border states with renewed confidence.

During the next five days, at least, all the time that can be spared will be devoted to framing a Tariff, arranging the schedules and affixing the duties on importations. In this work, it is true, a good deal of the time of Congress has already been consumed, so that within a few days more the labor will be finished.

In the secret session this morning the Committee of Foreign Affairs submitted a long winded report, of which no other notice was taken than to cause the injunction of secrecy to be removed, so that its author might be able to gain all the credit possible for his production, through the medium of the newspapers.

The latest news from Pensacola this evening was brought to town by one of the officers under Gen. Bragg. He gives an account of the re-arrest of a man who had once been let off on condition he would leave the country immediately, charged with disloyalty, and with furnishing fresh provisions to the enemy. The name of the fellow is unknown. By occupation he is a fisherman. He barely escaped with his life at the first arrest.

The proof of his crime on this occasion is so positive, that the fate of death will be surely meted out to him.

The other party captured was one of the gang of men employed by our Government in sinking vessels in the Channel near Perdido Bay. It is alleged that he is known to have given information to the enemy of the whereabouts of the sunken obstacles to navigation. It is thought to be hardly possible for him to escape the halter.³

SPRITE

Montgomery, May 14, 1861

The Congress went into secret session this morning five minutes after the opening prayer. As a matter of course, nothing was done in that time worth noting. I believe Mr. Rhett asked for the appointment of an additional member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and it was so ordered.

A motion was also concurred in to appoint a member of the Judiciary Committee to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Alex M. Clayton of Mississippi.⁴

It is correctly reported and generally believed that the Extra Session of the Congress will terminate with the present week, though the fact is not authoritatively circulated. Everybody credits the rumor, and there are few this morning who do not believe that the Congress will adjourn on the last of this or the first of the next week. How the impression got around is not for me to say, though the fact that is as general, induces me to place more reliance than otherwise in the statement, and to conjecture that it was caused by a 'leak.'

Since I wrote you on Saturday, the influx of troops here-

³ Spies and counter-spies figured prominently in the maneuvering before Pensacola. Their influence was scant but made for good newspaper copy. Another version of "Sprite's" story of intrigue is in *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, May 11, 1861.

⁴ When Clayton resigned from Congress he wrote a letter expressing his appreciation for the honor of having served and pledging his loyalty. Although no longer a member of Congress, he was permitted to continue attending sessions. See *Journal of the Confederate Congress*, I, 211.

abouts has been uninterrupted. On Sunday morning, an active regiment of splendid Alabama troops, in company with a Georgia battalion, left the camp ground near Montgomery and proceeded direct to the field of operations at Pensacola.

It is stated that over ten thousand men are now centered at this point, and more are on the march. This morning two additional companies from Georgia and two from Mobile went down in the cars. It is given out that the force before Pickens will be increased each day until fifteen or twenty thousand men are congregated there. Then the engagement will commence.

In the meantime, the enemy is not idle. He has thrown up formidable batteries in every available spot on Santa Rosa Island, and seems determined to give us a smart tug before the stronghold is captured. Most of the United States soldiers in opposition to us are well tried and veteran troops. They have seen service in Texas, and know in what consists the trade they follow.

SPRITE

Montgomery, May 15, 1861

In connection with the expedition of President DAVIS to the camp of Gen. BRAGG, at Pensacola, much speculation exists as to the object of the Executive. As I have before said, it is my belief that the visit is for nothing more than to inspect the works.⁵ The President was accompanied by several distinguished army officers and civilians, among whom was Col. LOUIS T. WIGFALL.

It is a question whether we are yet ready to commence the fight at Pickens, though already this morning the city is rife with the rumor that the contest has begun. Indeed, I heard

⁵ Secretary of the Navy Mallory also accompanied President Davis to Pensacola. They had an extended conference with General Bragg and afterwards reviewed the army. Although it seemed inevitable that the federal troops could not withstand an assault, the Confederates did not begin action until October 1861. They were never able to capture Fort Pickens and it remained in Union hands throughout the war. For a description of Davis' trip to Pensacola see DeLeon, **Four Years in Rebel Capitals**, 69-70.

a gentleman say that he had it directly from one just arrived by the Pensacola train, that the bombardment was commenced. He states that the engagement was commenced by the United States vessels, that they 'opened the ball' by firing round shot into one of our outposts, and that within half an hour the fight became general.

Of course there is not one word of truth in the report, but the people must have something to talk about, and the veil of mystery thrown around every movement of the Government leads them to give credence to every rumor.

One thing, however, seems certain, and that is we may look out for a contest in a very few days, perhaps in a few hours. All arrangements seem to be rapidly drawing to a close. Over one hundred and twenty heavy guns have been put into position by our troops; fifteen thousand men are concentrated at the point; they have undergone rigid drill for many weeks; the most formidable batteries and defensive works have been thrown up; the force has been divided, subdivided and organized; and, lastly, the President, himself, has gone to inspect and satisfy himself of the strength of the Confederate fortifications. His presence will inspire the troops with additional confidence, and conscious that they fight directly under the eye of the chief, they will emulate each other in deeds of noble daring.

I saw to-day about two hundred cases of 'percussion altered' muskets taken out of the Government buildings and carted off to the depot, for transportation to Virginia. They were directed to E. K. Smith, Lynchburg, Virginia, and, I suppose, are intended to supply the sons of the Old Dominion.⁶

The adjournment of Congress, and its reassembling at Richmond in July, continued as much a matter of speculation to-day as it was ten days ago. Whether purposely or not, I am

⁶ Edmund Kirby Smith, 1824-1893, was a Floridian who had served in the Mexican War, on the frontier, and at West Point. He resigned from the army in 1861 and was commissioned colonel of cavalry and sent to Lynchburg to organize and equip regiments on their arrival in Virginia. During the war Kirby Smith held many important commands from First Bull Run until his surrender of the last important Confederate force in June 1865. See Joseph H. Parks, **General Edmund Kirby Smith, C. S. A.** (Baton Rouge, 1954).

unable to say, but it is, nevertheless, a fact, that the greatest mystery is thrown about the determination of the Congress in this particular. One day we have it from sources that must be well supplied with knowledge that a removal has been decided upon, the next day a flat contradiction is given to the statement, and so from one extreme to the other we go, until we become thoroughly disgusted, and the newspaper readers arrive at the sober conclusion that 'correspondents, as a class, are a set of complete Munchausens, with revisions, corrections, and appendixes [*sic*].' Therefore, in order that I shall write myself down 'Munchausen' as little as possible, I shall venture to say nothing in future upon the subject of an adjournment of the Congress to Richmond until I procure a certified copy of the resolution, signed by Howell Cobb and Johnson Hooper, attested under oath before an Alabama Justice of the Peace, with the great seal of the sovereignty of Alabama thereto affixed.⁸

Congress remained in open session but five minutes this morning after prayer. During that time . . . a resolution was passed, instructing the Committee of the Judiciary to report a Bill to establish Federal Courts in the State of Virginia. As a matter of course, the Committee will report forthwith, though, as it will be a matter of local interest when Congress sits in Richmond, action may be deferred till that time, so as to give a chance to the Virginia Delegation in the manufacture of buncombe for home consumption. It will be encouraging home industry, therefore, and is advisable.

⁷ R. E. Raspe, a resident of England, in 1785 wrote the picaresque and extravagant satire **Baron Munchausen's Narrative of his Marvellous Travels and Campaigns in Russia**. See Albert C. Baugh, **A Literary History of England** (New York & London, 1948), 1195.

⁸ "Sprite" was understandably confused about the status of the permanent government at the time, May 15, he wrote his letter. **The Journal of the Confederate Congress**, I, reveals a complex struggle for the site on the capital. On practically every motion there was demanded a "Yea" and "Nay" vote of all the delegates. On May 1 William W. Boyce of South Carolina reported a bill to change the seat of government from Montgomery to Richmond. Although read twice and placed on the calendar of business, apparently nothing was done about this bill (173-174). On May 10, R. M. T. Hunter arrived at Montgomery with a resolution adopted by the Virginia convention on April 27. It invited the Confederate states to make Richmond or some place in Virginia the seat of government (205). That same day Francis S. Bartow of Georgia introduced a resolution stating that in order to defend Virginia and the rest of the South, it was necessary to have the "Commander in Chief and the Government in the State of Virginia" (208). On May 11, Rhett lost a move to postpone indefinitely consideration

Montgomery, May 18, 1861

For the past few days the attention of Congress has been devoted almost exclusively to a consideration of the new Tariff, and the most expedient method of creating a revenue for the support of the Government during the present crisis. Of its action you have been informed, so far as its action was complete, but what diversity of opinion exists as to the wisdom of the measures adopted, no one can ascertain. It was generally thought that when Congress came to the discussion of so important a theme as the Tariff about to be established, it should be in open session, that the voice of every individual should reach the ears of his constituents, and his record be exposed to them for approval or condemnation. To the contrary, however, we are kept in suspense until the last item will have been established, and then we must pass upon the work without expressing our opinions as to the authors.

That such a course of action, generally speaking, is not only desirable but necessary in order to preserve a unanimity of feeling, and to avoid an 'outside pressure,' no one doubts; but loud complaints are made in the present case, and a great disposition manifested to have every member of Congress express openly his views and policy on the Tariff question. So far as we are able to gather from the antecedents of those composing the Congress, or a majority of them, as also from the necessities of the times, we conclude that the doctrine of a Protective Tariff will be eschewed. There will be those who favor it and will urge it as a necessity for the interests of the sections they represent, but the experience of the past will teach the expediency of expunging such provisions from the Tariff. The beneficial results of reducing the rates to the lowest possible figures have already been realized, and the competition with the interests of the United States arising from the provisions of the Morrill Tariff, will considerably modify the new Bill.

of Bartow's resolution (211-212). Then Jabez L. M. Curry of Alabama lost in an attempt to remove "and the Government" from Bartow's resolution (212). Various amendments to the resolution were introduced. One was defeated, but congress finally accepted a resolution introduced by John Perkins, Jr., of Louisiana. It called for congress to adjourn on May 23 and reassemble at Richmond on July 23 (212-213). On May 15, the Judiciary Committee reported that the resolution to meet at Richmond seemed proper (225). At that point it seemed that congress would indeed next meet at Richmond.

It is believed that these tariffs, when brought into contact and competition, will assume to each other an inverse ratio, and it is therefore all necessary that our tariff should be as moderate as possible, and thus estrange from the North that immense commerce over which they have fattened for so many years past. The Morrill Tariff cannot be repealed before the session of July 4th, and even then there is a doubt of repeal; and in the meanwhile the commerce of the world will be flowing to our ports and seeking entrance into their proper channels.

Should the blockade of our ports be made effectual, and communication with Europe be closed, the revenue must of necessity cease, and we will have to institute a system of direct taxation, which should already supplant that of revenue collections. Many are already in favor of dismissing the whole tariff at once, throwing open our ports to the world and depending upon the known intelligence and patriotism of the people for the support of the Government. This doctrine of free trade is rapidly increasing in strength, and if our exigencies should cause us direct taxation, I have no doubt that free trade will immediately follow.⁹

With reference to the war policy we can gather little if any correspondence. The activity in engaging troops and preparing munitions of war has not been diminished, but the "wait awhile" project still prevails. President Lincoln evidently desires to take advantage of our disposition to be altogether on the defensive, and while he hopes we will continue to occupy this position, he murderously meditates cutting off our supplies and leaving us to starvation and famine. It is generally conceded, however, that his mind will have to be gently disabused of this slight error by the point of the bayonet. No regret can be expressed at the temporary cessation of hostilities, as every moment of peace is an age of preparation for us.

The War Department is vigorously at work day and night, Sundays inclusive. Transports containing the 'baby wakers' and

⁹ A high protective tariff was prohibited by the Confederate constitution. Congress did levy a tariff for revenue containing ad valorem rates averaging 12½ per cent. In addition an export duty on cotton was levied. The duty was ⅓ cent per pound on all cotton exported. See Eaton, *History of the Confederacy*, 234.

'Lincoln pills' are passing from post to post. The States which have lately allied their fortunes to ours are being supplied with every means of defence; thousands of arms are shipped daily for Virginia and Tennessee. We have plenty and to spare, besides the most improved weapons and small arms which were possessed by our militia in large quantities anterior to the formation of the Government, we have one hundred and seventy thousand stands of arms of every variety, which were taken from the arsenals and magazines. Harper's Ferry will supply us with all the large guns that we need, while powder and percussion caps are manufactured in large quantities within our own limits.

The Subsistence Department is well conditioned. The late accessions of the grain bearing districts of the Confederacy have increased our means of support, while from every section of the West we have encouraging reports of the crops. A larger per centage of corn has been raised this year by the regular Cotton planter than any ten seasons previous, and there exists no anxiety as to a prospect of drought or famine.

The Treasury is competent to meet the demands upon it. The loan of five millions, as you are aware, was absorbed, and five more sought for. Had not the books been closed so speedily, and reports obtained credence that New Orleans and Charleston had taken the whole amount, fifteen millions could easily have been obtained. Charleston subscribed over two millions, and the reports from the different districts of Carolina compare favorably with those of any other State. The plan of issuing Treasury notes bearing an interest of one per cent *per diem* on the hundred will make the paper an exchangeable and circulating medium, and inspire confidence into the holders of it, and with this and the other wise plans of the Secretary, we will have flooded coffers to bear us safely through the impending conflict.

A large portion of the loan already offered was accepted in certificates of stock in your city. The bonds are being prepared for delivery, and were delayed by a little *accident*. The engraved plates were ordered by contract with the American Bank Note Company in New Orleans, and were executed in New York—the citizens of which latter charitable locality, having ascertained

the facts, came down like wolves and seized the plates as trophies. The inconvenience was very slight, as a much more desirable plate has been manufactured in New Orleans.

The proposition to remove the sessions of Congress to the city of Richmond has, after much agitation, been finally defeated.

The next removal will be after the meeting of the first regular Congress, and will probably be to Huntsville, which is a beautiful little village, located in the mountain region of Alabama, a few miles north of the Tennessee River, and conveniently near to the route of the Charleston and Memphis Railroad. At least, so 'rumor' says.

PALMETTO

Montgomery, May 20, 1861

On Saturday evening, through the kind offices of CHAS. POLLARD, Esq., President of the Montgomery and Pensacola Railroad, and through the courtesy of several other distinguished gentlemen, I was enabled to accompany the excursion of the members of Congress to the interesting old town of Pensacola, and to the Navy Yard and fortifications of the Confederate States below. The rarity of such an opportunity as this, you may rest assured was gratifying in the extreme to myself, not only on account of my own curiosity, but in order to satisfy the cravings of your readers. A trip to the scene of Gen BRAGG'S military operations is quite an event, for us unmilitary men, and, but for the restraint which prudence suggests, it would be decidedly interesting to sacrifice all the particulars for general information.¹⁰

However, as it is a well credited fact that but for the imprudence of a correspondent in divulging the intentions of

¹⁰Charles T. Pollard was a business man of varied interests. He engaged in such pursuits as real estate, construction, hotel building, mule-drawn streetcars, and railroads. See Williams, "Conservatism in Old Montgomery," 100-101. The trip by congress and members of the press was considered a special treat. "Your Correspondent" lamented in the New Orleans **Daily Picayune**, May 2, 1861, that illness prevented his going but enviously reported those who did.

Gen. Bragg, Pickens would now be held by our men, the fraternity should not grumble that the most stringent regulations are enforced as regards their visits within 'the lines.'¹¹ Indeed, it is utterly impossible for a news writer to pass the sentinels, posted everywhere; and in order to obtain access, it is requisite to throw aside the reportorial aegis and try ones individual powers of persuasion.

The train for Pensacola started hence at two and a half o'clock, having on board about twenty members of Congress, with several ladies. The party was accomodated with a special car, under the supervision of Mr. Pollard, whose attentiveness as a host was amply experienced by every one.

Full of life and mirth, the cars moved out from the depot leaving the suffocating heat and dust of the proverbially dusty streets of Montgomery, far behind. The refreshing change was acknowledged with additional pleasure when the clouds soon after sent forth a slight but refreshing rain to moisten the arid earth, and to revivify drooping nature. Under the influence of the shower, the fields looked greener, and the bright drops, glistening on each blade, shone in the returning rays of the sun like tears of gratitude—glittering and brilliant, and sparkling—returning thanks to heaven for so great a boon.

On every hand, for miles upon miles, the fields of young corn and wheat spread out in rich panorama before the eye. Rich as is the sod of this wealthy State in every place, no part of it surpasses the section through which runs the Pensacola Road. Ordinarily it is the great cotton growing region, but this year, be it heard with joy, nearly the entire tract is devoted to the culture of the staples of human substance, corn and wheat.

¹¹This is a reference to an April episode involving the Warrington correspondent of the *Pensacola Observer*, L. H. Mathews, alias "Nemo." The writer was accused of having revealed Bragg's plan of attack on Pickens. Two Montgomery papers reported that "Nemo," a yankee, had foiled a Confederate move by making indiscreet revelations in his column. See *Montgomery Advertiser*, April 17, 1861; and *Montgomery Weekly Post*, April 16, 1861. On April 24, Mathews wrote a letter to the *Post* denying the charges. He wrote, "I have never before been accused of having any affinity to the North...but, on the contrary, have been repeatedly accused of being an ultra on Southern rights." He added "I declare before God that I never knew what were Gen Bragg's plans,...and did I know, I would die before revealing them." See letter in *Montgomery Weekly Post*, April 24, 1861.

If there is any cotton planted in occasional fields, it is invariably crossed with corn, so that, come what may, the Confederacy will not starve, nor even suffer want, for Alabama has become the granary of the country, like Egypt was to the rest of the world.

I assure you that it is no exaggeration for me to say that in the locality of which I now speak, the abundance of corn and the fruitfulness of the sod is unequalled in the world. Some of the fields average 75 bushels to the acre. All the farmers possess immense tracts, and in many instances the entire crop will be corn. Immense plains, extending as far as the eye can reach, in all directions, presented the same uninterrupted view—one grand field of waving young corn, already far advanced towards full height. In the grain growing States of the West, I have seen magnificent crops, but never have I imagined anything which equaled what bids fair to be the corn crop of Alabama this year.

In the full employment of social intercourse, and in speculation upon the grand prospects spread out on all sides before us, we arrived at the State lines, with appetities sharpened for supper by the pleasant ride. The first indication of an entry into the borders of Florida was given from the swamps, which all night long are alive with the creaking noises of frogs, commingled with the clanging guttorals of the 'blood an' ouns.'

By a roadside house we supped upon a mockery of coffee, good corn bread, bad butter, excellent ham, and a dish over which the Georgians and Alabamians disputed at length—one side contending that it was fried chicken, the others that it was 'GOUPER,' i.e. *turtle*.

Seeing that the disputation was likely to lead to no practical or satisfactory result, I resolved to decide for myself. I had no idea what 'gouper' was, or what the term meant, but from my faint remembrances of former feasts I did not count myself perfectly able to recognize chicken, though I acknowledge my ability to decide whether the creature crowed when Peter denied his Master or not. The dish before us tasted more like fowl than anything I had ever known, therefore, I uttered a declaration

as to my impressions; still I did not know anything about 'gouper,' therefore my opinion was not worth much, and the landlord was called upon to disembarass us. 'Boniface,' however, refused to answer us, thinking that the question had been raised with a view to quiz him, so we are yet in the dark, and our party of four yet remains divided, rallying each to the separate war cry 'Gouper!' 'Chicken!'

By the road side, within a mile or so of Pensacola, about four thousand troops, most of them from Georgia, are encamped in the woods. In the moonlight the snowy white tents and the glittering muskets of the sentinels combined in the formation of a *coupe d'veil* full of romance, chivalry and patriotism. The air was hushed, the camp quiet, and everything in repose—not even the snorting of the engine nor the clashing of iron disturbed it.

Thus we sped on, until in the midst of unmounted columbiads, heavy mortars, mortar beds, shot and shell, were we discharged, helter skelter, from the cars into the dim streets of the dull old Spanish town [Pensacola]. Every man rushed off, to be first into the hotel, the bar of which was yet open and resplendent with all the aids to drunkenness. Into the office—or rather into the parlor, but lately converted into a chamber, which swarmed with sleepers, rushed the posse of arrivals. On the way to this apartment we must have encountered fifty half aroused men, who were stretched upon the 'softest planks' vainly wooing 'nature's sweet restorer.'

The chances of procuring lodgement, though slim at the outset, became 'smaller and by degrees beautifully less' as we reached the second story. 'Every room in the house,' every bed, every blanket, every plank occupied with gentlemen,' said the landlord. 'Can't accomodate you any way; sorry for it, but accidents will happen in the best regulated families. If, however, you can manage to sleep for the night in the cars, I'll try what I can do to feed you in the morning.' Obligated to be content with this, we were forced back to the cars where each disposed of his length of limb as best he could upon the seats, and sought by the soothing music of full bands of Florida mosquitoes, that refreshment necessary for the next day's exertions. The ladies,

more fortunate, succeeded in obtaining accomodations in a private dwelling.

With the peep of dawn I broke out from the cars and with a companion proceeded down to the long pier, which extends into the harbor. Here we enjoyed a delightful view of the magnificent bay and harbor of Pensacola, and drank in the pure fresh sea breeze with delight. Land locked on either side, the bay and harbor are most secure and capacious. Several large foreign ships were riding at anchor off the city. In the dim distance, and just then barely perceptible, rose the light house tower and tall chimneys of the navy yard. Pickens is two [*sic*] far off to be seen. The land on the side in our possession appears to meet Santa Rosa Island at the mouth of the harbor. Then the sun behind a cloud appeared just above the horrison [*sic*], like a grand globe of bright, red fire. With rapid strides he mounted towards the zenith, and in a few moments his warm rays burst through the clouds, gladdening and softening everything.

Look towards the Navy Yard there on the right, you can now manage to see the buildings stretching along the shore. Barrancas farther on can barely be distinguished. Pickens and McRae are wholly invisible. Santa Rosa Island is separated from the mainland by a narrow body of water, only four feet deep at its greatest. The island is long, probably three or four miles.¹² It is covered with a magnificent live oak forest. The whole piece of land is but a continuation of the main. It is so narrow that you can easily see the full masts and rigging of the United States steamers over it on the outside. On the seaward extremity of the island is Pickens, with its glacis of green sward, and flanked by sand batteries. By the aid of glasses the troops are

¹²Edwin C. Bearss, "Civil War Operations in and Around Pensacola," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVI (October, 1957), 125, writes, "Entering Pensacola Harbor...in 1861 one would have seen, as he crossed the bar, Fort McRee immediately on his left on the mainland ...and to the right Fort Pickens on the western extremity of Santa Rosa Island. This island, lying approximately parallel to the shore of the mainland, is nearly forty miles long and is separated from the mainland by Pensacola Bay. On the mainland opposite Fort Pickens and at a distance of about one and one-half miles stood Fort Barrancas and about another one and one-half miles east of Fort Barrancas was the village of Warrington which adjoined the navy yard. Seven miles farther up the bay was the town of Pensacola having in 1860 a population of 2,876."

seen busy at work. Opposite Pickens—directly opposite, is Barrancas—and McRae stands diagonally at equal distance from each. It is a round fortification, somewhat resembling Castle Pinckney, though much larger.¹³ In its position it stands directly in the middle of the mouth of the harbor.

After viewing the bay and offing for half an hour, we saluted the sentinels, that are to be found everywhere, and returned towards the hotel. On our way we found the market house, or what we took for the market house, filled with Spanish sailors and others, busily taking breakfast. The streets were all alive with people, and here and there we came across groups of anxious looking men, casting furtive glances at the various bar rooms, as if anxiously hunting up the morning 'cocktail.' But the Sunday law is in full force here, as it is in Montgomery, and instead of an eye opener, fresh from the hands of the bartender, the toper must persuade his optics to go on trust, and raise their lids upon the recollection of last night's potations.

Still unable to procure a room at the hotel, in which to perform our morning ablutions, my companion and myself were constrained to enter to the bowling saloon, the bar of which was closed, and there make our toilet. Few, indeed, were the facilities afforded for this purpose. A quarter basin full of murky water, a cracked glass, our fingers for combs I believe completed the list. 'Where can we get our boots blackened?' was the next suggestion. A Negro boy, to whom we put the suggestion in the shape of a question, looked at us with surprise, and several white men standing by laughed so immoderately that we were constrained to forego this part of dress, and once more sallied forth in quest of something new.

After breakfasting upon dry salt fish, in a room filled with bunks, which made it resemble a long dirty steam boat cabin, it was eight o'clock. By this hour it was expected that permission would be given us to embark for the Navy Yard fortifications. After some delay Major Bradford, who commands some six companies at Pensacola, sent down the necessary papers, and I, along with a portion of the party, got on board one of the

¹³Castle Pinckney was a fort on an island in Charleston harbor. It lay between Fort Sumter and the city of Charleston.

yachts at the wharf and sailed down with a stiff breeze. Governor [Howell] Cobb, with the ladies and several others remained behind and took passage in the government steam tug. The sea was so rough that the spray was dashed in drenching quantities over the bow of our little craft. Judge Brockenbrough, of Va., and several besides him were thoroughly soaked before a landing was effected. The dashing spray was quite a source of merriment to all hands. The Judge relished its refreshing showers, and all else were very well pleased to see him receive the dousing.

Having arrived at our destination, the passes with which we were provided were ample open 'Cesemes' to every quarter, but concerning what we saw and heard, I think the least said the better, for unwittingly I might impart dangerous information. In general terms, however, I will say that all the men appeared in excellent health and spirits. Gen. Bragg says that out of ten thousand men, only ninety are in the hospital. I heard of one or two deaths, and the dysentery is not at all prevalent, though it has been. The immense works that have been thrown up evince the ardor of the men. The houses swarm with troops, and the woods are full of regimental encampments. The men are rigidly drilled in their respective branches of service, and itch for the fight. The dry dock, which you have heard was filled with stores, &c., has not been sunk yet. Some yet think that when the attempt to submerge the vast structure [is made], Pickens will open on us, though the best informed seem to doubt it.

Barrancas is about the same distance from Pickens that Cummins' Point is from Sumter, and from its ramparts everything can be seen that is done without the walls of the United States fort. An engagement is not expected for three weeks.

Of the location and force of our batteries and encampments, it is not wise to speak, therefore, I shall say no more.

SPRITE

Montgomery, May 22, 1861

The city of Montgomery is at length finally rid of Congress, both for the present and the future. After a wearisome session, the Congress saw fit to suffer its light, hitherto kept under the bushel, to flicker out entirely. Before involving itself in darkness, however, it left in the hands of our much loved President, steel and flint wherewith under other auspices to recreate the blaze, upon which for the future, it is to be hoped, the world will be allowed to gaze to its complete satisfaction.

As a matter of course the Montgomeryites are dreadfully displeased with the resolution of Congress to adjourn to Richmond, and they grumble louder about this than anything I ever heard them oppose. A Cotton Confederacy, for which alone they say they struggled, should have its Capital in a Cotton State; and none of the reasons they allege for removal are valid or cogent.¹⁴ Virginia is yet in the old Union, and her own people somewhat divided among themselves.

The Capitol building this morning was in quite a bustle with preparations to get ready all the appendages of Congress for transportation. With all the confusion the doorkeeper and

¹⁴The *Journal of the Confederate Congress*, I, reveals that the struggle to remove the capital had become increasingly bitter. The resolution calling for congress to reassemble at Richmond was vetoed by President Davis on May 17. Davis pointed out that Article Six of the Provisional Constitution stated that unless congress provided otherwise, Montgomery was the capital of the Confederacy. The resolution had said nothing about removing the seat of government, only the meeting place of Congress. Since it would be highly inconvenient to have congress one place and the capital another, he was returning the measure to congress. All of the states except Virginia, and even her delegation was split two to two, voted to uphold Davis (242-243). A resolution to provide for the removal of the seat of government was made the special order of the day for May 20. At that time Alabama and South Carolina were defeated in their attempt to permit the president to designate the time and place for congress to meet after adjourning. A resolution was then introduced, which, after several changes, called for congress to reassemble at Richmond on July 20 (254-255). Once the wording of the resolution had been accepted, the critical test was whether or not the resolution itself would be accepted. The vote was taken and the resolution was rejected. A move to reconsider was made and on the next vote Louisiana and Florida switched over to support of the resolution and it passed. Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina held out, but now the fight was over (254-256). It should be pointed out that many of the lower South states were distinctly displeased with the decision to move. It still can be argued that the South made a mistake in moving the capital to Richmond.

his quarter of burly porters were able to make the place seem dead and deserted. The streets of the city and the hotels are in the same condition.

The Departments will not commence to pack up for several weeks at least. They are bound to be in readiness for duty on the 20th of July, the same time that Congress meets. Two months are given them for removal, and this can with facility be consummated in one, so that there is no need of hurry.

During the session of the Congress above fifty Acts were passed. Of these not more than ten have been made public. The remaining Acts, having been signed by the President, are free from the injunction of secrecy, but it is a very difficult matter to get hold of them. All that are to be published will be put out by the Government in a few weeks, but all this is time lost. The people wish to know what has been done.

I sent you a copy of the Tariff law which was adopted several days ago, and from which the injunction of secrecy was removed last night, after ten o'clock, when the President had signed and approved it. I have been anxiously looking out for this all important Act, and was assured up to ten o'clock last night that the injunction of secrecy was not removed.

The Clerks and Secretary of Congress and the best informed members, including the President himself, assured me yesterday afternoon, that I could not get the document until the approval of the Executive relieved it of secrecy.

SPRITE

P. S.—Later this evening I learn that instructions have been issued to the clerks in the various departments to hold themselves in readiness for departure to Richmond next week.

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